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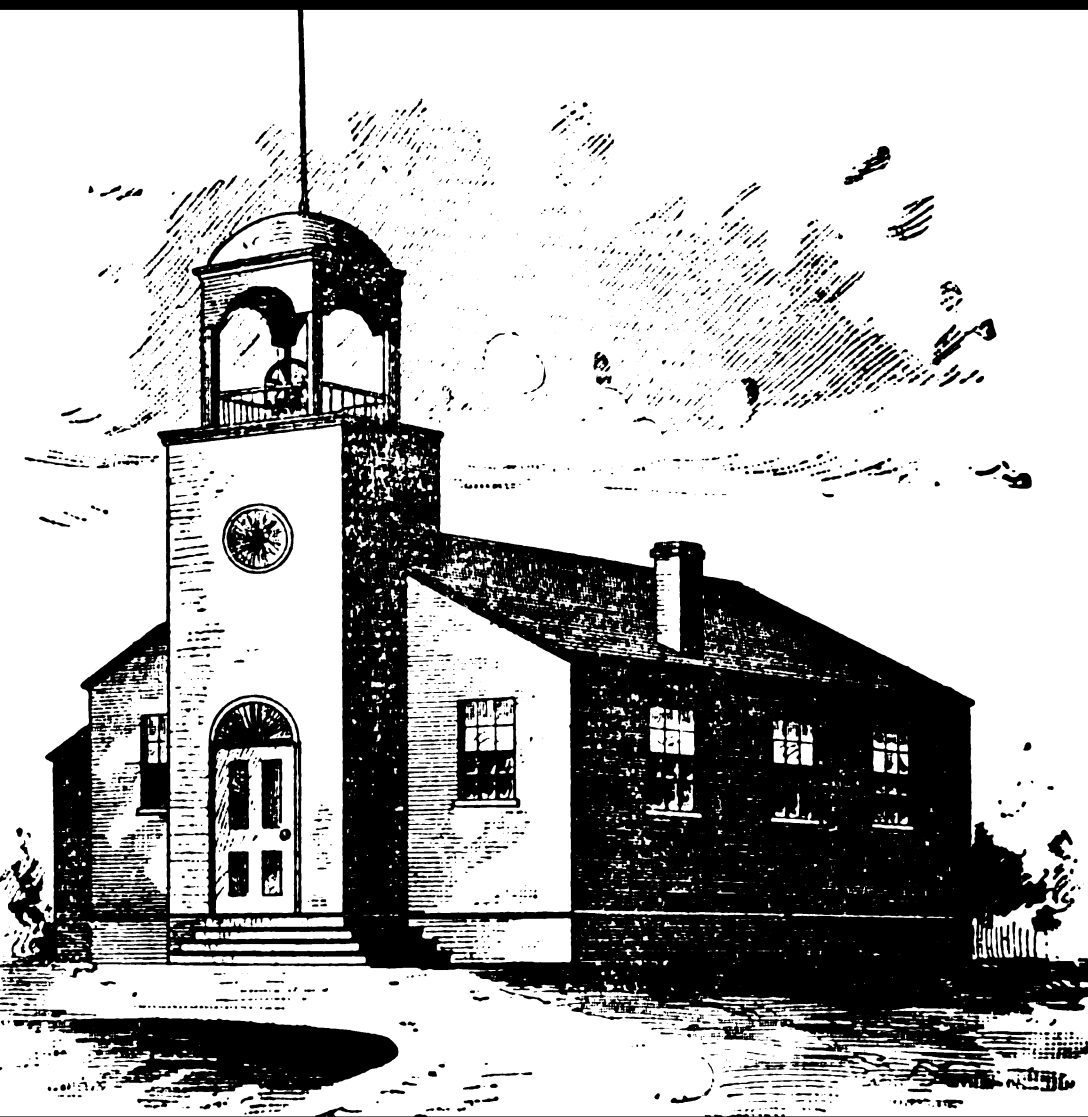
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*Collections and Proceedings
of the Maine Historical Society*

Maine Historical Society

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SECOND SERIES, VOL. X

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The Old Thornton Academy

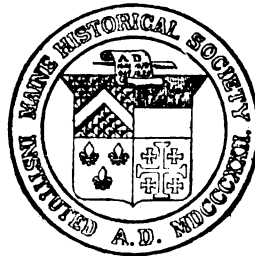
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY



Antiquitatis Monumenta Colligere

JANUARY, 1899

VOL. X

PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY BY
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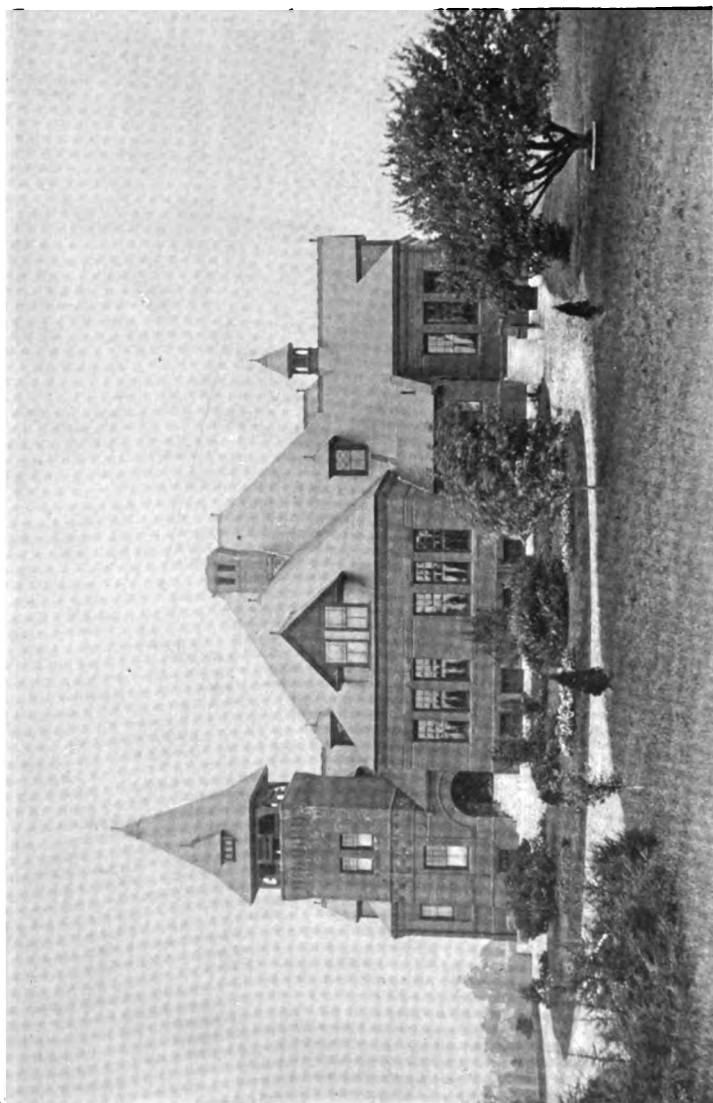
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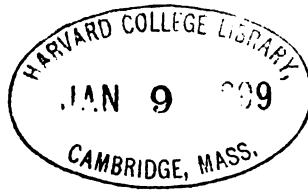
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ENTERED AT THE POST OFFICE AT PORTLAND, MAINE, AS SECOND CLASS MATTER.



THORNTON ACADEMY BUILDING, ERECTED 1888.



MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS.

THE OLD THORNTON ACADEMY.

BY GEORGE ADDISON EMERY.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 11, 1897.

MORE than one hundred years ago the following agreement¹ was made.

Whereas, Jeremiah Hill, Esq., Doct. Aaron Porter and Mr. Matthias Cobb, all of Biddeford in the County of York and Commonwealth of Massachusetts :

Have purchased a small piece of land at Saco Falls in said Biddeford and have erected an House thereon suitable and convenient for an Academy and now propose to give it to the public for that purpose on condition the General Court of said Commonwealth will grant a corporation for that purpose with such other endowments as they have given other Academies in this County or Commonwealth or as they in their wisdom may think fit :— Therefore we, the subscribers to encourage such a laudable undertaking do hereby engage to pay the said Hill, Porter and Cobb the sums set against each of our names respectively on the condition and for the purpose aforesaid which sums are to defray the Expenses of Building said Academy and the remainder as an endowment thereof.

Biddeford Oct. 30, 1792.

Jeremiah Hill,	fifteen pounds.
Aaron Porter,	fifteen pounds.
Matt'w Cobb,	Fifteen Pounds.
Nicholas Smith,	Syx pounds.
Nath'l Webster,	six pounds.

This was probably the first attempt to establish an academy in the vicinity of Biddeford and Saco. If the

¹ This agreement is in the handwriting of Jeremiah Hill, Esq.

Commonwealth had granted a corporation to Biddeford, the Society would not hear this account of the old Saco Academy.

Two academies would not be established in adjoining towns.

But in 1811 the following petition was presented in the Massachusetts Legislature:—

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in General Court assembled :
January, A. D. 1811.—

The Subscribers respectfully represent that the establishment of an Academy in the town of Saco in the County of York, for the instruction of Youth in Science, literature and morals, would be of great public utility and largely contribute to the happiness of the rising and future generations : And as they are taught by the constitution of this Commonwealth, that “Wisdom and knowledge as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties : and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the Country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of Legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this Commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them : ”

Therefore the Subscribers respectfully solicit, for the purposes aforesaid, that an academy may be incorporated and established in the town of Saco, with such powers, privileges and immunities, as have usually been granted to similar institutions : & with endowment from the Commonwealth, in aid of the funds subscribed by individuals, as has been commonly bestowed, and such as is contemplated by the constitution aforesaid, and such as the dignity of the Commonwealth demands : And as in duty bound will ever pray :

Thos Cutts.

Thos G. Thornton.

Cyrus King.

Wm. Moody.

Jona. Cleaves.

Ichabod Jordan.

Rich A. Mannus.	Wm Freeman.
Daniel Granger.	George Thacher.
Daniel Cleaves.	Samuel Merrill.
Reub H. Green.	John Pike.
J. Spring.	William Todd.
Saml Moody,	Benjamin Patterson.
Danl Cole.	James Gray.
Saml Hartley.	James Carlisle.
Joshua M. Cumston.	Samuel Dennett.
James Ross.	Noah Hooper.
Sherburne Tilton.	Stephen Fairfield.
David Buckminister.	John Smith.
Benjn Pike.	Moses Bradbury.
Joseph Leland.	Edm'd Perkins.
Samuel Gillpatrick.	Tristram Hooper.
Nicholas Scamman.	

(Filing) Petition of

Thos. Cutts, Esq. and others
for
an Academy
in Saco.

on Academies
23 Jan.

The committee reports that the petitioners have leave to bring in a bill.

Accepted 2 Feb.

The committee accordingly presented the following bill:—

Whereas the encouragement of literature in the rising generation has ever been considered by the wise and good as the basis upon which the safety and happiness of a free people ultimately depend, and it is made the duty of legislatures and magistrates by the constitution of this Commonwealth to afford such encouragement: and whereas Thomas Cutts, Esq., and others have petitioned this court

for the establishment of an academy in Saco, in the County of York, for that purpose —

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court, assembled, and by the authority of the same, That there be, and hereby is established in the town of Saco, in the County of York, an Academy by the name of Saco Academy, for the purpose of promoting piety and virtue, and for the education of youth, in such languages, and such liberal arts and sciences as the trustees hereafter provided shall order and direct.

Section 2. Be it further enacted that Thomas Cutts, Esq., Thomas G. Thornton, Esq. Cyrus King, Esq. Daniel Granger, Esq. Daniel Cleaves, Esq. Joseph Leland, Esq. Hon. Richard Cutts, James Gray, Esq. Foxwell Cutts, Esq. William Moody, Esq. Dr. Richard C. Shannon, Capt. Samuel Hartley, Capt. Ichabod Jordan, Major John Spring and Mr. Jonathan Tucker, be, and they are hereby nominated and appointed Trustees of said Academy and they are hereby incorporated into a body politick, by the name of the Trustees of Saco Academy, and they and their successors shall be and continue a body politick and corporate by the same name forever.

Section 3. Be it further enacted, That the said Thomas Cutts and others, the Trustees, aforesaid, and their successors be, and they are hereby made the Visitors, Trustees and Governors, of the said Academy, in perpetual succession forever, to be continued in the way and manner hereinafter specified, with full power and authority to elect such officers of the said Academy as they shall judge necessary and convenient, and to make and ordain such laws, orders and rules, not repugnant to the laws of this Commonwealth, for the good government of said Academy, as to them shall seem fit and requisite.

Section 4. Be it further enacted, That the said Trustees and their successors shall have one common seal, which they may break, change and renew, from time to time, as they shall see fit: and they may sue and be sued, in all actions, real, personal and mixed, and prosecute and defend the same to final judgment and execution, by the name of the Trustees of Saco Academy, and may appoint an agent or agents to prosecute or defend such suit or suits.

Section 5. Be it further enacted, That the number of the Trustees aforesaid, shall not at any time be more than fifteen, nor less

than nine, five of whom at least shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for transacting business.

Section 6. Be it further enacted, That when one or more of the Trustees aforesaid shall die, or resign, or in the judgment of the major part of the Trustees, shall be rendered incapable by age or otherwise, of discharging the duties of his office, the Trustees then surviving may elect one or more persons to fill the vacancy or vacancies.

Section 7. Be it further enacted, That the Trustees aforesaid and their successors be, and they are hereby rendered, capable in law, to take and hold by gift or grant, devise, bequest or otherwise, any lands, tenements, or other estate, real or personal, which have been heretofore given or subscribed, or which may hereafter be given or subscribed for the purpose aforesaid. *Provided*, The annual income of said real estate shall not exceed the sum of two thousand dollars, and the annual income of said personal estate shall not exceed the sum of five thousand dollars,¹ and all deeds and instruments which the said Trustees may lawfully make, shall be sealed with their seal, and bind the Trustees and their successors and shall be valid in law.

Section 8. Be it further enacted, That there be and hereby is granted to the said Trustees and to their successors forever, for the use of said Academy, one half township of six miles square, of the unappropriated lands belonging to this Commonwealth in the District of Maine (excepting the ten townships on Penobscot River, lately purchased by the Commonwealth of the Indians, and excepting likewise the land lately contracted to be sold to Jackson & Flint: and which contract is now rescinded) to be laid out and assigned by the Commissioners for the sale of Eastern lands, under the restrictions and reservations made in similar cases, on condition that the Treasurer of said Trustees shall within three years from the passing of this act, certify to said Commissioners that the sum of three thousand dollars has been actually raised, and secured: for the endowment of said Academy and appropriated to the use thereof.

Section 9. Be it further enacted, That Thomas Cutts, Esq., be and he is hereby authorized and empowered to appoint the time and place for holding the first meeting of said Trustees, and notify them thereof.

¹ This limit was repealed, February 12, 1895.

The records of the House of Representatives read as follows :—

Monday, Feb. 4, 1811,—

Bill establishing an Academy in the town of Saco and County of York,—by name of Saco Academy,

Read a third time and on the question whether the bill shall be passed to be engrossed, — a motion was made by Rev. Mr. Foster of Lyttleton that that section of the bill be stricken out which makes a grant of land for the endowment of said Academy.

The question being put shall this section stand part of the bill it was decided in the affirmative, 69—63.

It was therefore passed to be engrossed. Sent up for concurrence.

February 9, 1811, the bill was passed by the Senate to engrossed, and it was approved by the governor (E. Gerry), 16th Feb'y, 1811.

If Representative Foster's motion had prevailed, in all probability the academy would never have been opened as there would have been no special inducement to raise \$3,000, but fortunately the efforts of Thomas Cutts and his associate trustees succeeded.

The trustees whose names are mentioned in section 2 of this bill were men of distinction.

Col. Thomas Cutts, the first petitioner and incorporator, was one of Saco's best citizens. When a very young man he was the trusted clerk of Sir William Pepperrell. He came to Saco in 1757, when about twenty-one years old with only one hundred dollars, borrowed of his father, which he repaid as soon as he was able. He commenced trade in a small store, but was soon obliged to enlarge his quarters, and by economy, honesty and strict attention to business

¹ Edmund Foster.

became one of the most eminent merchants in Maine. He foresaw the advantages of a location on Indian Island, and bought a small portion and established his store there. He purchased a large tract of Sir William Pepperrell and small tracts of others, until he owned the whole island (which was afterwards called "Cutts' Island"), and maintained bridges so that people could go through Saco and Biddeford without using the ferry. This directed the tide of travel by his store and his business increased rapidly. He gradually became largely interested in shipping, and built a mansion on high ground on the island (which is still standing) from which he could see his many vessels coming and going to all parts of the world. He also owned lumber and grist mills, and with Josiah Calef, Esq., built an iron manufactory in which cut nails were made. This was the first nail factory in Maine, and the first factory on the island where the York mills now are. Before this time only wrought nails were made, one at a time, by blacksmiths. He also owned many farms and large tracts of land, and it was said he could go to Canada and sleep in his own house every night. To facilitate this large and varied business he, with associates, organized Saco Bank, and was its first president. When he died he had one hundred and eighty shares in this bank. He was appointed by the major part of the Council of Massachusetts Bay, first major of the third regiment, February 14, 1776, and June 9, 1778, he was appointed colonel of the same regiment. The Colonel employed a large number of people to carry on his enterprises. Many of the old ship captains were

masters of his vessels. The Colonel was not only a good business man, but was, as I said, a good citizen. He was selectman, 1767-69; chairman of the board, 1771; town treasurer, 1772-94; representative to the General Court, 1780; overseer Bowdoin College, 1794-97; councillor of Massachusetts, 1810. Col. Cutts gave to the First Parish, when the meetinghouse was built, a bell, weighing one thousand pounds. He was very kind to the unfortunate, and when he laid down a barrel of beef or pork for himself, prepared another for the poor. The Colonel's real estate in this state was appraised at \$96,626.¹ He had also thousands of acres of land in New Hampshire, that he had purchased of that state. His French claims amounted to \$90,000 and his personal estate was \$46,165.16 including one hundred and forty-eight notes at face value. He advanced to his children, in his lifetime, \$83,241. The Colonel's name must have added great weight to the petition for the academy, for he was justly held in high esteem by the General Court of Massachusetts. He married Elizabeth Scamman, August 24, 1762. He died January 10, 1821, aged eighty-four years, nine months and five days.

Dr. Thomas G. Thornton, the second trustee, came to Saco from Ipswich, in 1791, bearing a letter of recommendation from Dr. John Manning to Col. Thomas Cutts. November 26, 1793, he married Sarah, daughter of Col. Cutts and after a time engaged in mercantile pursuits. He was born, August 31, 1769. His father was Timothy Thornton of Boston. In 1795,

¹ From inventory.

1796, 1798 and 1803, he was a representative in the General Court of Massachusetts. He was appointed United State marshal for Maine in 1803, and discharged the duties of that office till his death, March 4, 1824. He died the very day his commission as marshal expired. He was candidate for Congress at the election on the first Monday in April, 1823. Neither candidate was elected at that time and he withdrew his name from the contest. William Burleigh of South Berwick was then elected. He was a good friend to the academy and assisted at a critical period in its history. When Col. Cutts resigned the presidency of Saco Bank, Marshal Thornton became president in 1811, and continued in that office till he died. He had a large house in Saco. President Monroe and Lafayette were entertained at this house. This mansion was converted into a hotel known as the "Thornton House," after his death, and was burned January, 1851. This was located at the corner of Main Street and Thornton Avenue.

Cyrus King, born September 6, 1772, the first regular attorney in Saco, was a member of the famous King family of Maine. His brother, William King, was the first governor of Maine. He was the son of Richard King of Scarboro. He attended Phillips Academy at Andover, entered Columbia College, New York, in 1790, from which he was graduated with the highest honors of his class. He commenced the study of law with his brother, Senator Rufus King in New York, and on his being appointed minister to Great Britian, went with him as private secretary. He returned home the next year, and finished reading law in the office of

Chief Justice Mellen, at Biddeford, and was admitted to the bar in 1797. He was a brilliant advocate, a polished orator and also a "safe counsellor." He married October, 1797, Hannah, eldest daughter of Capt. Seth Storer. Mr. King was elected in 1812, representative to Congress, defeating Hon. Richard Cutts, the seventh trustee. He served with distinction four years, returning home March 3, 1817, and died suddenly at Saco, April 25. He lived in the house on Main Street now occupied by Mrs. Horace Woodman. Mr. King was major-general of the sixth division of Massachusetts militia and was buried with military honors in Saco. In the funeral procession, led by the Buxton light infantry, marched the trustees, scholars and preceptor of the academy.

Daniel Granger, was born in 1760 or 1761, married, 1792, Mary, daughter of Col. Tristram Jordan. He was a soldier in the war of the Revolution — was collector of customs in Saco, 1809-29, town treasurer 1822, 1823; school committee, 1816-24; overseer of the poor, 1810-14 and 1817-20; agent of school district 1799-1805 and 1806-10, 1813, 1816, moderator 1802-05 and 1815, director of Saco Bank 1812-25. He was the second collector of the port of Saco, Jeremiah Hill, Esq., being the first.

He was a merchant and lived in the house now occupied by Charles W. Shannon, on Main Street. He removed to Eastport in 1839, and died there, aged ninety-one years.

Daniel Cleaves, born May 28, 1771, the next trustee, came from Danvers, in 1790, with a small stock

of goods. He formed a partnership with Jonathan Tucker, the last trustee, which lasted for sixteen years. He was one of the most successful merchants in this section. He was a candidate for Congress but was defeated by Richard Cutts, another trustee. He married Sarah, daughter of Parson John Fairfield, April 28, 1795. He was a model treasurer for the academy and by his persistent efforts procured more than the amount required by the charter (\$3,000), to secure the grant of land. He obtained \$3,825 from eighty-three subscribers. Others were on the committee, but the vote of the trustees to give Daniel Cleaves seventy-five dollars, indicates that he did most, if not all, the work. This seventy-five dollars, Mr. Cleaves gave the preceptor to purchase maps, etc., for the school. He wrote a beautiful hand and his accounts are accurately kept. He died December 9, 1817, aged forty-six years, six months and eleven days.

Joseph Leland, Esq., the sixth trustee, was for many years a merchant in Saco. He was born in Massachusetts, December 30, 1757. He was an ensign and lieutenant in the Revolutionary war and was in the battle of Bunker Hill. He was a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati. After the war he came to Phillipsburg, now Hollis, where he carried on a heavy lumbering and merchandise business at Hight's Landing on Saco River. He afterwards moved to Saco, and bought some of the confiscated lots of Sir William Pepperrell on Main and Middle Streets. He built the large mansion now occupied by B. F. Hamilton and Mrs. Annie O. Dennett on Main Street, also

the brick house on Middle Street, occupied by John S. Locke, Esq., in which latter house he died. He married December 28, 1786, Dorcas, sister of the third trustee, Cyrus King. He died, May 29, 1839. On his tombstone is inscribed "A true patriot, An honest man."

Hon. Richard Cutts, the fifth child of Col. Thomas Cutts, was born June 28, 1771. His father sent him to Andover Academy, and he was graduated from Harvard College in 1790. He read law, then went abroad in one of his father's vessels and by study and travel completed his education. In 1801, when twenty-nine years old, he was elected a member of Congress and held office twelve years when he was defeated by Cyrus King, the third trustee. In 1804 he married Anna Payne, sister of President Madison's wife. June 1813, he was appointed superintendent-general of military supplies and served till the war closed. He was, 1817, appointed second comptroller of the treasury until 1829. He died April 7, 1845.¹

James Gray was born October 9, 1765. He graduated from Harvard in 1786, was town clerk 1796-1809, and 1824 till his death, November 14, 1833. He was selectman 1797-1803 and 1807 and overseer of the poor 1815 and 1816. "Gray's Court," in Saco is named for him.

Foxwell Cutts, Esq., born April 7, 1765, was the oldest son of Col. Thomas Cutts. He was largely engaged in navigation previous to the war. "His large and costly ships were profitably employed in freighting

¹ Rev. Dr. Burrage, in first article in Second series, Vol. VIII, *Maine Historical Quarterly*, gives an excellent account of Richard Cutts.

large cargoes to various parts of the world." Mr. Cutts built at that period the large mansion house afterwards occupied by Marshal Thornton. His first wife was Sarah Scamman. After she died he married Hannah Dustin Page.¹ He died June 6, 1816.

Col. William Moody was born July 10, 1770, He attended the common district school, but the death of his father when he was seventeen years of age, obliged him to go to work as joiner or carpenter. Notwithstanding his limited education, he represented Saco in the Legislature eight years, from 1804 to 1812 and in the Senate from 1812 to 1819 inclusive, and "he became by force of native intellect alone, without the benefit of early education, a prominent and highly useful member of that body. In the convention by which the constitution of Maine was formed, having been elected one of the delegates from Saco, Col. Moody often took part in the debates and was distinguished for the ease and clearness with which he expressed his views. He was returned a member of the first Senate of Maine and presided over its deliberations after the resignation of Gen. Chandler. About the same time he was appointed sheriff² of York County. His death occurred suddenly, March 15, 1822, while he was in the midst of life and usefulness and was universally lamented." ³

Dr. Richard Cutts Shannon was graduated from Harvard, 1795. Studied medicine with Dr. Jacob Kirtledge of Dover, N. H., and was for a time a surgeon

¹ A direct descendant of the heroine Hannah Dustin.

² If Col. Moody had not accepted the office of sheriff he would have been the second governor of Maine, as Governor King soon resigned.

³ Folsom: History of Saco and Biddeford.

in the Navy. He resigned and settled in Saco in the fall of 1800. He took a great interest in the academy and in the summer of 1819, James W. Bradbury, afterwards the president of this Society, boarded in his family while attending the academy. Mr. Bradbury in his delightful address at the dedication of the new academy says he was "a Christian gentleman." Dr. Shannon died suddenly, April 19, 1828. During a period of nearly twenty-eight years he was the principal physician in Saco.

Captain Samuel Hartley was born in Boston, in 1770, and came to Saco about 1786. He married Hannah, daughter of Parson John Fairfield, February 14, 1799. He was a famous shipmaster. Before the war of 1812 he made foreign voyages, after that time he confined himself to coasting trade. His voyages were made quickly and safely, and he was noted for his integrity, promptness and activity. He never lost a vessel and never was shipwrecked. He was a trustee of Saco and Biddeford Savings Institution from 1827 to 1849, director of Saco Bank 1811 and also from 1814 to 1843. He lived in the house on Main Street lately occupied by his sons, Captain Richard and Hon. John F. Hartley. The large and valuable field in front of his house purchased at the sale of confiscated Pepperrell property was owned by him. He died March 3, 1857.

Capt. Ichabod Jordan, born September 24, 1770, at Saco, died in the same house where he was born, May 20, 1865. He married February 5, 1797, at Saco,

Mary, daughter of James Coffin. In early life he went to sea and, by skill and energy, became master of a ship when he was about twenty-one years old. He was honest, a thorough sailor, and had good business talents. He could sail a ship to any part of the world. He made many foreign voyages in early life. In 1805, he commanded the American ship, *Ocean*, which was a large vessel for that time, and went to Stockholm, Sweden. President Jefferson gave Capt. Jordan a paper allowing him to depart with the ship, *Ocean*, two hundred and forty-six tons burden or thereabouts loaded with ashes, cotton, coffee, cheese, oil, logwood, pepper, sugar, etc. This was the first arrival of a United States ship in Stockholm, and the event was celebrated by the city, and the king and queen came on board and dined. In the war of 1812, Capt. Jordan was a prisoner on the *Boxer* at the time of the engagement with the *Enterprise*. He was collector of customs under President Polk's administration and representative from Saco in 1806.

Major John Spring, afterwards colonel, was born May 16, 1782. He was Representative in 1824 and 1825 and sheriff of the county in 1830. He married in 1804, Olive, daughter of Capt. Seth Storer. Spring's Island was named for his father, Capt. Seth Spring. He died August 17, 1858.

Jonathan Tucker was born March 13, 1776. He was in business with Daniel Cleaves, fourth trustee who was his cousin, under the firm name of Cleaves & Tucker. He married Hannah, daughter of Nathaniel

Scamman, April 21, 1821. He was president of the Manufacturers Bank 1825-32, representative to the Legislature 1840 and 1841. He lived in the house now occupied by John Berry at the corner of Main and School Streets. He died February 9, 1861.

The trustees organized at Cutts Hall near the new meetinghouse in Saco, with Hon. Cyrus King, secretary, Col. Thomas Cutts, president and Daniel Cleaves, Esq., treasurer, March 25, 1811.

Jonathan Tucker and Major John Spring with the treasurer of said trustees were appointed a committee to solicit donations for the academy.

Thomas G. Thornton, Wm. Moody and James Gray, Esqs., were elected a committee to draw and report at an adjourned meeting a suitable plan for the academy: and report a suitable situation for the building and of what materials it ought to be constructed and whether the same ought to be built by contract or otherwise.

At the same meeting the treasurer was requested to receive notes payable to the trustees, one-half on the first day of July next, and the other half on the first day of October next, of those subscribers to said academy who do not pay in advance for the amount of their respective subscriptions.

At an adjourned meeting March 30, the committee on building and location submitted a plan of a house forty-two feet long in front, and thirty feet wide, one story, twelve feet in the clear with a cellar under the same, said house or academy to be built of wood and accommodate fifty-six scholars or more if necessary,

with two chimneys or fireplaces. For a more particular description they refer to a plan which I am unable to find.

They also report that "having considered the difficulties of building said house by contract, in consequence of disappointing those subscribers who may be best accommodated by supplying materials and labour and thereby exclude those who may yet be induced to appropriate labour or materials, they are of opinion that sd. Academy ought not to be built by contract."

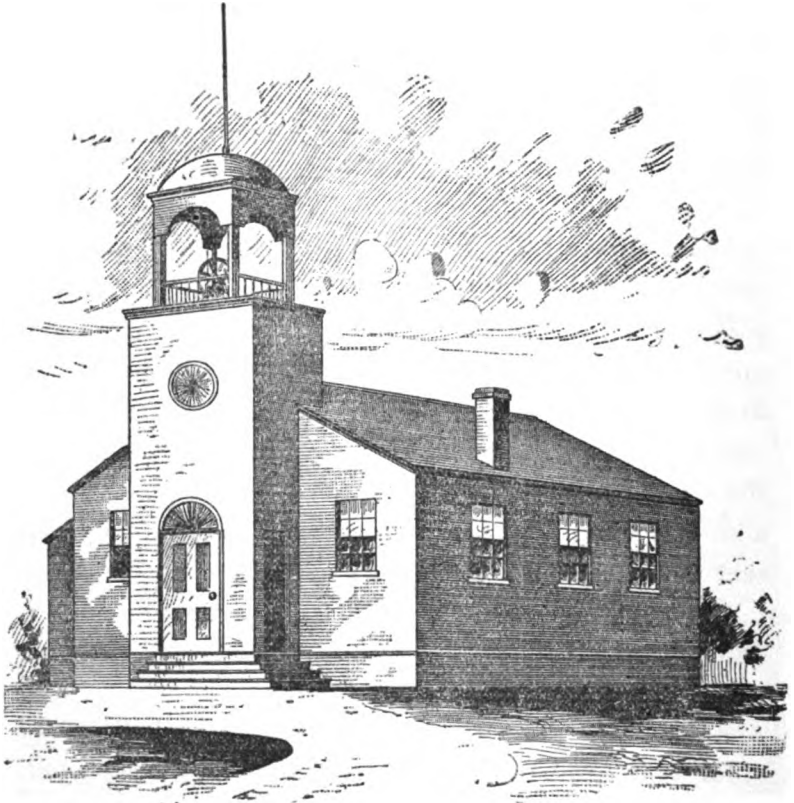
They also say "they are of opinion the most suitable situation for said Academy is on the Northeast side of the road leading from the post road to the old meetinghouse, on land given to town of Saco by the State, if the same can be obtained without purchase & that sd. house or academy have its front and face to the Northwest with a projection from the house to admit a door on the Southwest side of the same, & serve as a base for a balcony."

Jonathan Tucker was appointed a committee to obtain of the town of Saco and secure to said incorporation the situation for the academy reported by said committee and that the same person be authorized to build said academy agreeably to the plan reported with the alterations mentioned in the acceptance of said report, in such time and manner as he shall think most for the interest of said institution and of the subscribers thereto.

Joseph Leland, Esq., and Col. Wm. Moody were appointed a committee to advise with Mr. Tucker.

The academy building was erected as the committee planned near the place where the Unitarian vestry now stands on Pepperell Park.

On November 23 and November 30, 1812, the trustees met to determine "when said academy shall be



ACADEMY BUILDING, BURNED 1848.

opened & what is necessary to be done preparatory therefor." The following votes were passed :—

Voted : That the tuition & expense for scholars to pay at the Saco Academy be at present fixed at \$3 per quarter, — payable in advance quarterly to the Treasurer of sd. Trustees.

Voted : That as soon as forty scholars can be engaged for one quarter at least each, a suitable person shall be immediately hired for a Preceptor.

Voted : That the salary of the Preceptor of said Academy shall at the present be five hundred Dollars, payable from the tuition & other funds, quarterly : with an understanding that sd. salary shall be increased if the Preceptor should prove useful & the Academy should flourish under his care.

Voted : That a Committee of three be appointed to receive subscriptions for scholars : first from subscribers, secondly, from non-subscribers in Saco & Biddeford,—thirdly elsewhere. That the number of scholars at present to be rec'd. into said Academy shall not exceed forty, and the Committee aforesaid shall judge of the age & qualifications of the scholars to be received into said Academy. That sd. Committee engage the Preceptor to continue so long as he shall prove useful & as the funds of sd. Academy shall permit.

Voted : That if sd. Committee should succeed in obtaining a sufficient number of scholars, they make every necessary arrangement for opening the Academy for instruction soon as may be : and that they prepare and lay before the Trustees suitable rules and regulations for the government and conducting said Academy & from time to time determine what books it may be proper to introduce therein.

Rev. Jona Cogswell, Cyrus King and Daniel Granger were appointed committee and were authorized to procure a bell by donation or otherwise.¹

On the twenty-eighth of December, 1812, "It was voted that there shall be 4 vacations in each year, one week at the end of each quarter, and the Sec'y. be directed to post up notifications informing the subscribers whose children are expected to enter sd. Academy, that their children are requested to attend for that purpose on Monday next at one of the clock in

¹ The bell cost seventy-eight dollars, including hanging, etc.

the afternoon : and also that any who shall not be furnished with Books & Stationery may be supplied at the Academy by paying therefor & that they come prepared to pay their quarters advance to the Treasurer."

Joseph Leland, Esq., was authorized to buy twenty cords of wood [at two dollars per cord] for the academy this winter, for the two fireplaces.

Capt. Samuel Hartley was authorized to furnish "little necessities" as the committee may find convenient for the academy.

The trustees then adjourned to Monday, January 4, A. D. 1813, at 9 o'clock A. M., at the office of Hon. Cyrus King, Esq. At this meeting the following rules and regulations reported by the committee were accepted, to wit:—

1. The Academy shall be opened and closed with prayer every morning.

2. A portion of the Scriptures shall be read in the morning by the Preceptor & in the evening by the scholars.

3. During six months of the year including the Winter season, the hours of study shall commence at 9 o'clock A. M. and at 1 P. M. making six hours at least : And in the Summer season, the hours of study shall commence at 8 o'clock A. M. & at 2 o'clock P. M. making six hours at least.

4. If a member of the Academy be habitually profane or disobedient to the Preceptor, negligent in his attendance at the Academy, or in any other respect an improper member he or she shall be cut off from its privileges.

5. No scholar shall be allowed to whisper or leave his or her seat during the hours of study, except to speak with the Preceptor or by his permission.

6. It shall be the duty of the male members of the Academy to take care of the fires and ring the Bell : and of the females to sweep the house.

7. No scholar shall be allowed to write more than one hour per day.

8. All the scholars shall recite a lesson every Monday morning, from the historical part of Scripture.

9. The scholars shall be examined by the Trustees at the end of every quarter.

10. Among other branches of education to be taught at sd. Academy, that of public speaking or declamation, shall be particularly attended to by all the scholars, except such as the Preceptor may see fit to excuse.

11. If a scholar unreasonably neglect to furnish himself with the necessary books & stationery he or she shall not be allowed to continue.

12. If any scholar shall injure or deface the building, out buildings or fences belonging to said Academy, or without permission shall take, injure or destroy, any book or other article belonging to the Preceptor, or another scholar, the damages or expense of repairs shall immediately be paid by the parent, master, or guardian, and a certificate thereof by the Preceptor : — or the scholar having committed the offence may be expelled from the Academy.

At this meeting it was voted that not more than one child, or scholar, be introduced from the family of a non-subscriber.

This shows that the trustees were fearful they would have more scholars than they could accommodate —and when the academy opened they did have a full school.

The records do not state how the academy was opened as a school, but I find in a Massachusetts Register of 1813, in the handwriting of Dr. Thomas G.

Thornton, this memorandum, "Jan. 4, Academy dedicated and opened," and in the newspaper, *The Weekly Visitor*, of January 9, 1813, "published on Saturdays, by J. K. Remich, opposite the Meeting House in Kennebunk," I discovered the following : —

COMMUNICATION.

Dedication of Saco Academy.

Nothing can be more gratifying to the Philanthropist and Patriot than the reflection, that notwithstanding the general distress of the times and the gloomy prospect before us [this was in the time of the 1812 war] schools of learning continue to be established for the benefit of the rising generation.

On Monday last was dedicated Saco Academy : the performances which were in the Meeting house, were introduced by a prayer from the Rev'd. Mr. Cogswell which was peculiarly impressive and appropriate to the occasion : and was followed by an address from the Rev'd. Asa Lyman, the Preceptor of the Academy, which for ease and elegance of style and uniform good sense, is seldom exceeded.

After the performances were ended, the scholars, Trustees, Preceptor &c. marched in procession to the Academy, where the scholars and Preceptor were addressed by the Hon. Cyrus King, Esq. in his usual strain of eloquence and pathos,—the whole of which was concluded by a prayer from the Preceptor.

From the valuable address of Mr. Lyman it would be difficult to select any portion as the best, yet, from its frequent application, we would suggest one idea of his, and that is the "necessity of a perfect understanding and mutual cooperation between the parent and guardians of children and their Preceptor, in order to their happiness and advancement in learning." "Which idea cannot be too strongly impressed on the minds of parents and especially mothers who are too apt to suffer their filial affection to get the better of their sense of duty and, by taking the part of their children against their instructor, not only to turn their respect for them, but encourage them in further disobedience."

" L."

One of the objects of the academy being to promote piety and virtue, a minister was secured for the first preceptor, Rev. Asa Lyman just mentioned. He was born in 1776 at Lebanon, Connecticut, and graduated from Yale College, 1797. After he graduated, he remained in New Haven, keeping the college buttery and studying divinity with President Dwight. In about two years, he was licensed to preach and supplied some vacant pulpits in the vicinity of New Haven. In September, 1800, he was ordained at Hamden, and installed pastor of the Congregational church and society in that town. In this situation, he continued about three years, when he was dismissed. On the first of January, 1806, he became pastor of the church and society in Bath, Maine, where he continued until March, 1808, when he was dismissed in consequence of ill health. On the thirtieth of November, 1809, he was again settled in the ministry at Windham, Maine, but he remained there only six months, leaving on account of poor health. He was next a publisher and vender of books on a small scale in Portland. From Portland he came to Saco. His salary at first was five hundred dollars, afterward eight hundred dollars, "provided the income is sufficient," as the records say. He had fifty scholars, the youngest eleven, the oldest twenty-seven years old.

Forty-seven scholars were introduced by subscribers, three by non-subscribers.

He left November, 1817. From Saco, he went to Kennebunkport where he opened a private academy. He afterwards went to New York, and became a book

and map agent. He afterwards resided in Newark, New Jersey and in Buffalo and Skaneateles, New York, making the business of teaching alone, or with the aid of his daughters, his principal employment. He then moved to Clinton, to educate his sons in Hamilton College. He died there in 1836.

Mr. Lyman married about the time of his settlement in Hamden, Miss Benedict of Middlebury. She, with two sons and several daughters, survived him. The sons were both ministers of the Episcopal church in Maryland. Mr. Lyman was one of the overseers of Bowdoin College from 1806 to 1813.

Ezra Haskell, the second preceptor, commenced teaching October 10, 1814. He was born, March 12, 1781, in New Gloucester. He entered Bowdoin College, 1811, but did not graduate. After leaving Saco he taught a number of years in Boston, until failing health caused him to relinquish teaching. He "took up commercial life" and moved from Hopkinton, Massachusetts to Dover, New Hampshire, in 1835, but frequently in later years taught private schools for a term or two, always maintaining a lively interest in educational matters. He was a member of the Congregational church fifty years. Four of his sons entered the ministry. He died in Dover, New Hampshire, March 27, 1858, aged seventy-seven years. He was a good penman and fine instructor. He finished teaching in Saco, November, 1817.

Joseph Fowler, the next preceptor, was born in Milford, Connecticut, October 7, 1798, and graduated from Yale College in 1817. He commenced teaching in the

academy December 8, 1817, when nineteen years old, and taught two terms. He never married and died in Milford in 1825.

Benjamin Hale was an excellent teacher. He taught one year in Saco, was then tutor in Bowdoin College, his Alma Mater, 1818, and afterwards become famous as president of Hobart College, filling the position with honor, and taking any department which did not have a teacher as well as his own and, with little or no salary at times, succeeded in making the college respected and successful. He married the daughter of Hon. Cyrus King, M. C., who was the first secretary of the trustees of Saco Academy.

In The Weekly Visitor of September 2, 1820, this notice appears:—

SACO ACADEMY.

The Trustees of this institution respectfully inform the public that the term will commence Monday the 11th of September next. Their funds having been lately increased by the liberality of individuals they have engaged as a permanent instructor Rev. Phineas Pratt, a gentleman every way qualified for so important a trust. Students can be accommodated with board in respectable families at the moderate price of \$1.75 per week.

T. G. Thornton.	} Com.
R. C. Shannon.	
Seth Storer, Jun.	

Saco, Sept. 1, 1820.

Mr. Pratt was born May 23, 1789, at New Ipswich, New Hampshire. He graduated from Bowdoin College in 1817, and pursued theological studies with Rev. Jona Cogswell of Saco. He received a license to preach but infirm health soon compelled him to give

up preaching. After he left the academy he engaged in lumbering. In 1843 he removed to Gardiner.

Respected as a citizen he held municipal offices which he discharged with characteristic care and accuracy. He was a just, sober and religious man. He married Miss Batchelder of New Ipswich. He had no children and died December 9, 1865. Mr. Pratt was a trustee of the academy from December 21, 1822, to August 17, 1829, when he resigned.

James Furbish succeeded Mr. Pratt in 1826. He was born in Wells, Me., April, 1796—graduated from Harvard College in 1825. He taught in Concord, Massachusetts, having Thoreau and Hoar among his pupils. He came to Thornton Academy¹ from Concord, in the fall of 1829. In the fall of 1827, he came to Portland to take charge of "a female academy."

Afterwards he was the preceptor of Westbrook Academy. In personal appearance Mr. Furbish resembled Edward Everett, for whom he was often taken. He filled Prof. Longfellow's place as instructor in modern languages in Bowdoin College, while the latter was in Europe. He was one of the most accomplished educators of his time. His powers of teaching were something wonderful. He was especially distinguished for his thorough knowledge and accurate pronunciation of the French and Spanish languages. He married the youngest daughter of Reuben Morton of Portland. He died at Old Orchard, June 3, 1878. Rev. Dr. J. T. G. Nichols attended his funeral.

Mr. Furbish in his letter to the trustees of the academy asking to be released from his engagement so that

¹ Name changed to Thornton Academy, January 25, 1823.

he can take the academy in Portland, says, "When you consider that a gentleman of honorable experience, as an instructor, stands ready to fill the vacancy I hope you will come to the conclusion to release me,"—this gentleman of honorable experience was perhaps

George Folsom, the next preceptor. He taught one term. He was born in Kennebunk, May 23, 1802. He died in Rome, Italy, March 27, 1869. He read law with Ether Shepley, afterwards chief justice of Maine. In 1830 he published the History of Saco and Biddeford, one of the most reliable local histories we have. He was afterwards prominent politically, was United States minister to the Netherlands, traveled abroad and was interested in historical societies at home.

Duncan Bradford, born August 5, 1804, son of Alden Bradford, LL. D., secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, was the eighth preceptor of the academy. He graduated from Harvard College in 1824. He had a private school in Charlestown, and also taught at the navy yard. He wrote a work on mathematics or astronomy, I am not certain which. Mr. Bradford conducted an evening school while in Saco.

The standing committee after Mr. Bradford left sent this letter.

Saco, Aug. 13, 1828.

Mr. Hezekiah Packard, Jur.

Dear Sir : Being in want of a Preceptor for Thornton Academy, and understanding that you are a candidate for such an employment, we take the liberty of applying to you to take charge of that Institution for one year to commence on the eighth day of September next, and for your services for said year we are willing to pay you the sum of Five Hundred Dollars, in quarter yearly payments, or if

convenient to us, one half of each quarter in advance. Please say on the back of this proposal whether you accede to it or not.

Very respectfully your Obt. Servts.

J. Spring.	}	Com.
John Fairfield.		of
Henry B. C. Green.		Trustees.

This letter came back with this reply:

I accept of the above proposals.

Hezekiah Packard.

Mr. Packard was born the seventeenth of October, 1805, and graduated from Bowdoin in the famous class of 1825, with Longfellow, Hawthorne, James W. Bradbury and others. He was a brother of Prof. Alpheus Packard of Bowdoin College. Mr. Packard taught one year then resigned.

On the twenty-first day of August, 1829, it was

Voted :— that the Committee be authorized to engage Mr. John F. Hartley as Preceptor for one year, and to offer him for his services a sum not to exceed one hundred & forty dollars & all the tuition fees.

Mr. Hartley attended Saco Academy as a scholar with Hugh McCulloch of Kennebunk, and both were associated together in the United States Treasury Department many years.

Mr. Hartley was born in Saco, June 13, 1809, and graduated from Bowdoin College in 1829, "With very high honors and excelled as a debater." He was in Washington thirty-seven years when he resigned, moved to Saco and lived in the house in which he was born. He died October 20, 1897.

Mr. Packard had given up teaching because he did not know the French language. He took lessons of a

French instructor in 1829 while Mr. Hartley was teacher and returned as preceptor in 1830.

In his reply to the standing committee Mr. Packard says, after stating that he has acquired a knowledge of French:—

Be pleased then, Gentlemen, to state to the Trustees that I am willing to take charge of the Academy as a permanent Instructor if a stated salary of \$600 shall be ensured to me, with a promise that it shall be increased, whenever the number of scholars or the state of the funds will admit of such increase. I, on my part, promise to use my utmost exertions to advance the interest of the Institution, and to make myself useful to those who attend it for the purposes of instruction. If after a sufficient trial, I find that the Institution will not flourish while in my hands, and that there will be no probability of my receiving a competent support, I should of course wish to have the privilege of releasing myself from this engagement.

The academy evidently flourished for six years as Mr. Packard remained till 1836, when he resigned. One of the most accomplished teachers ever in Saco took his place in 1836: Samuel Adams. I have obtained from one of the assistant teachers at the old academy, Martha A. P. Shannon, this account of Mr. Adams.

Samuel Adams, who succeeded Mr. Packard as principal of Thornton Academy and who held the position four years, was born at Rochester, New Hampshire, January 18, 1804, and died at Jacksonville, Florida, November 12, 1841. He graduated with honor at Harvard College in 1827. He was fitted for college at Greenland and Exeter academies. On the paternal side he belonged to the distinguished Adams family. On the maternal side, his great-grandfather was Dr. Lemmon of Marblehead, a graduate of Harvard of the

class of 1735. The historian says he was a distinguished surgeon and a man of great repute.

His grandfather was Hon. John Prentice of Londonderry, New Hampshire, a graduate of Harvard College of the class of 1766; a brilliant lawyer at the Rockingham bar, New Hampshire; speaker of the House for fourteen years; subscriber to his state's declaration to resist Great Britain, *vi et armis*; state attorney, and appointed judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. His heredity therefore was of the best American type.

As a boy his tastes inclined him to study and he was early ambitious for a classical course. With scholarly instincts, strong in his convictions yet generous to those who differed from him, he won the confidence and respect of his classmates and was ever a favorite with all. I have before me a letter, in which, December 24, 1894, Dr. William Wellington of Cambridge writes:—"Adams and I were classmates and room-mates, during the four years of our college life at Harvard. He was an admirable man and we were the best of friends. I loved and respected him. I hope the Saco people will do something to keep his memory green." Dr. B. Cotting, curator of the Lowell Institute, was another warm college friend. Only a few of the class remain.

Before his graduation he was invited to take charge of the academy at Cambridgeport where, immediately after, he entered upon his duties. He remained there, till he assumed the charge of Thornton Academy, being influenced to make the change by his brother George

H. Adams, a prominent business man in Saco. The board of trustees in Cambridgeport gave him up with regret, and his pupils presented him with a beautiful token of their love and esteem.

As preceptor of Thornton Academy he achieved success. Some of his pupils have told me, that he, above all others, had inspired them with high ideals and impressed them with the value of sound learning, that his faculty of imparting knowledge]was phenomenal and that none knew him but to love and admire. He was a man of fine tastes. He loved poetry and his contributions to the press received high commendation. He was enthusiastic in the study of the natural sciences and his knowledge of these was exact and comprehensive. He loved Nature and she revealed to him, as she always does to her votaries, her secrets. He knew the hiding-place where the first spring flower opened its petals to the sun, all unseen by another. In politics he was a Democrat, in religion a Unitarian, and while reticent as to his religious experience, the beauty and consistency of his life showed he held filial relations with the Father of us all. In the social circle his courteous manners and fine presence made him a welcome guest. As a son and brother his unselfishness and devotion were beyond all praise.

In estimating a character so well rounded, one is embarrassed by the completeness of the details and to a stranger much of what is said may seem mere eulogy. Having submitted this sketch to one of his pupils, the reply was, "You have not told the half of his virtues and gifts, and this would

be the criticism of every one who knew Samuel Adams."

March 7, 1836, while Mr. Adams was preceptor, seventy-five scholars applied for admission, but only fifty could be received. The trustees accordingly voted to enlarge the building, and three hundred dollars was appropriated for that purpose, and a recitation room built on.

It became necessary then to have an assistant. George Payson Hayes was engaged for one term. He was born in Saco, June 6, 1817, was a non-graduate of Bowdoin College, class of 1837, and was the son of Deacon Joseph M. Hayes.

Miss Sarah Osgood Stevens succeeded Mr. Hayes. She taught seven or eight terms. Then resigned and opened a school in the brick building known as the Beatty store, at the corner of Main and Pleasant Streets. She afterwards went South to teach.

Samuel Weston Coburn, a brother of Governor Abner Coburn, succeeded Mr. Adams. He was born July 14, 1815, and graduated from Waterville College in the class of 1841. His sister Mary was his assistant. He commenced teaching, September 20, 1841, and closed December 9, when there was a public examination. He became a merchant, manufacturer and finally a farmer. Mr. Coburn died at Skowhegan, July 30, 1873.

William Allen came next in 1841. Commencing school December 27. His widow has sent me the following account of his life.

William Allen, son of Barzillai and Lucy (Baldwin) Allen, died at East Bridgewater, Massachusetts,

February 19, 1895, in the same house in which he was born, September 27, 1815. This house was built by his father eighteen years before Mr. Allen's birth and he was always attached to it and the small farm connected with it, which had many interesting associations with the town and had been in ownership of his ancestors for two hundred years.

Circumstances called him to pass many years of his life in other places, but his heart turned fondly to this as his home and the rest of his declining years. He was prepared under private tuition of Rev. Baalis Sanford of East Bridgewater, for Phillips Academy, Exeter, New Hampshire, where he fitted for Harvard College. After going through the four years' course he was graduated in the class of 1837.

His first school after leaving Cambridge, was in Concord, Massachusetts, where he found a pleasant home during his stay with the family of his classmate, H. D. Thoreau. His next school was an academy in Barnstable, on Cape Cod, Massachusetts. In the winter of 1841-42 he took charge of Thornton Academy, Saco, Maine, in which school he continued until the close of the summer of 1846, when he returned to his native town, teaching the academy there for fourteen years.

After the establishment of a public high school he gave up teaching. He represented the town in the Massachusetts Legislature during the winter of 1860-61. During this winter he materially influenced an appropriation from the state in favor of Professor Louis Agassiz's museum of natural history, and later,

received a kind note of acknowledgment of this service from Professor Agassiz. During this winter, also, the town of Greenfield petitioned to have a part of the neighboring town of Deerfield joined to their town.

The majority of Deerfield's citizens were opposed to such a measure. Mr. Allen's sympathies were strongly aroused for them. He went to all the committee hearings on the question and by a speech before the House, so influenced the vote, that Deerfield retained her ancient boundaries. On his visiting Deerfield sometime later, the citizens showed their appreciation of this service by giving Mr. Allen a public supper, at which they presented him with a handsome cane, made of oak from the "Old Indian House," so called, because it was the only house strong enough to resist the onslaught of the French and Indians at the time they sacked Deerfield.

In the spring of 1861, Mr. Allen was appointed an inspector in the Boston custom house, where he remained over four years. After an interval of several years he was appointed to a clerkship in the custom house and served between seven and eight years. After losing this position, he retired from active occupation.

He was a person of strong friendships and never failed to take a warm interest in the old places where he dwelt and in his former pupils. While in Saco, he was connected with the Second Parish (Unitarian) and worked with enthusiasm in the church and Sunday-school of which he was superintendent during a part of his stay in town.

Mr. Allen was one of the earlier members of the lodge of Odd Fellows in Saco, and continued his connection for many years after returning to East Bridgewater, and then was transferred to Massasoit lodge, Brockton, Massachusetts, of which he was a member at the time of his death.

He left material for a history of his native town, but had not had leisure to arrange it for publication. His last illness was short and the end although sudden, was a peaceful close of a well spent life.

He married February 23, 1845, in Saco, Amanda Catharine, daughter of David H., and Pamela (McArthur) Cole. Their children are two daughters, who, with their mother survive him.

Mr. Allen procured the bell for the Unitarian meeting-house. One of the subscribers to the bell fund insisted that it should be heavier than any other bell in town. A bell was cast but when weighed was found wanting, so another was cast and now hangs in the Unitarian belfry.

Mr. Allen was a famous football kicker. Sometime ago a stranger came into my office and hearing some mention of the academy, said he used to attend school there. He was unable to remember when and could not recollect the name even of the preceptor, but said he taught the scholars to walk lightly and when they tramped heavily and scuffled with their feet in coming in, would send them out, directing them to come back without making a noise, and said he had always made it a point since then to walk on his toes upon entering any assembly. He also said the teacher could kick a

football over the meeting-house. I knew then it was Mr. Allen. Mr. Edward R. Bradbury, of Saco, says Mr. Allen could kick a football over the steeple of the Unitarian church and he had seen him do it.

Mr. Allen was assisted by Miss Martha Ann Prentiss Stevens (the Martha A. P. Shannon, who wrote the beautiful memorial of Samuel Adams). She had previously attended the academy as a student. In her gentle way she controlled the roughest and wildest students without any apparent effort on her part and exercised a good influence over the whole school. She commenced December 27, 1841, and resigned in November, 1843.

Miss Cordelia Haines took her place. She was a Southern lady. After teaching three terms she opened a school for girls in the King Building, where Charles H. Cleaves has now a marble shop.

When Mr. Allen left, the trustees

Voted : — That the thanks of the Trustees be tendered to William Allen for the fidelity with which he has uniformly discharged the duties of Preceptor of our Academy with the assurance that our good wishes attend him for his health and prosperity wherever he may go.

Jonas Burnham, born May 11, 1798, in Kennebunkport, a graduate of Bowdoin in the class of 1823, an uncle of Hon. Edward P. Burnham of Saco, taught in 1846. He taught many years, even before he entered college, and had private scholars when very old at his house. His niece told me he closed one eye when he drove and the other when he read. He was a faithful instructor. He died March 9, 1889.

The next teacher took charge of the academy when nineteen years old. His brother furnishes this record.

James William Hanscom, was the fourth of seven children of Alpheus and Mary (Libbey) Hanscom, of Eliot, Maine. He was born October 22, 1827. His father was a school teacher, usually teaching the winter school in some district of his town, during most of his business life, and working upon his farm in the summer seasons. In his youth he was for a time a student at Phillips Academy, Exeter, New Hampshire. When James was about twelve years old his father, in company with others interested in the higher education of their children, erected a building and started an academy in their town. The first preceptor of the Eliot Academy was Israel Kimball, then just graduated from Bowdoin College.

Under his tuition James fitted for college and entered the freshman class at Bowdoin in 1842, graduating in 1846. In the meantime, his father being disabled from business, he was dependent mainly upon his own efforts to defray his college expenses. He was the youngest of his class and graduated with its highest honors.

So deeply was he impressed with his ideal of the "true scholar," who "needs no motive to self-culture but his own intrinsic love of knowledge and excellence," that he spurned the prevalent college "ranking system," as unworthy the ambition of the true scholar and consented to fill the position in the graduating exercises to which he was entitled, only on condition that he be allowed to make his oration a criticism of the ranking system. This was allowed him and his oration

was a severe arraignment of the system of ranking in college and a feeling and eloquent presentation of the nobler aims of the true scholar. The address was very attentively listened to by a crowded audience, and elicited the highest commendation from those best qualified to appreciate it.

Prominent friends of education in Portland, who had made his acquaintance and who had heard him at Commencement, immediately offered him a situation as an assistant instructor in one of the high schools in that city. He accepted the offer and taught there during the fall and winter of 1846. In the spring of 1847, he was offered the preceptorship of Thornton Academy, which he accepted and entered at once upon its duties.

Near the close of the summer term, which had been somewhat protracted in order to make the vacation fall at a convenient time, he was attacked with dysentery and after a week's sickness, died at the house of his brother, Alpheus A. Hanscom, then publishing the *Maine Democrat*, at Saco.

He had, during his brief service in Saco, made many friends, who along with his pupils, sincerely lamented his death, which occurred August 22, 1847. His father died three days later (August 25), and in the same week their remains were interred in the family graveyard in Eliot.

In the Union of 1847, this advertisement appears:—

THORNTON ACADEMY.

The Fall term of this Academy will commence on Tuesday the 7th day of September next. The Trustees have engaged the ser-

vices of Mr. Pike of Brunswick as Preceptor, whose high reputation as a scholar and a teacher warrants the hope that this Institution will continue its career of usefulness under the most favorable auspices. Terms as usual: \$4.00 for languages, — \$3.00 for common English studies.

Moses Emery.	} Com. of Trustees.
G. Tucker.	
Thos Cutts.	

Aug. 30, 1847.

Alfred Washington Pike, son of Joseph and Lois (Tenney) Pike, was born at Rowley, Massachusetts, March 21, 1791, and died in Boston, September 6, 1860, aged sixty-nine. He was graduated from Dartmouth College. He became a teacher of acknowledged ability: at Hampton one year; Newburyport six years; Framingham three years; Newburyport again three years; Woburn two years, Boston four years; Topsfield one and one-half years; Newburyport a third time, Winthrop, Maine, two years; Hallowell two years; Brunswick, Maine, six years; Saco, one year; Kennebunk, Maine, one year; Dover five years and finally at Milford, Massachusetts.

He married Martha, daughter of Rev. Gilbert Tenney Williams of Newburyport, Massachusetts, in May, 1816.

Mr. Pike lived in the James B. Thornton house, afterwards owned by Charles Hill on the present academy lot. His son "Sam John," who was graduated from Bowdoin in 1847 and was at one time tutor in college, was his assistant. Mr. Pike was the last teacher in the old academy.

The one-half township of land granted by the Commonwealth gave the trustees much trouble. At one

time it was voted to buy the other half, if it could be obtained for twenty-five cents per acre. This was July 18, 1814.

In July, 1820, a committee was appointed to make inquiry and agree upon the best plan for settling and increasing the value of the academy lands. In August, 1820, the committee reported that it was best to sell if three thousand dollars can be obtained. In October 1820, the committee were authorized to sell the land at private sale for not less than twenty-five hundred dollars, ten per cent. to be paid down and the balance to be secured by mortgage.

In December, 1822, the treasurer was directed to advertise the land for sale, and ascertain what can be procured for it.

March 20, 1824, the treasurer was authorized to sell and convey all right, title and interest to one-half township of land for twenty-five hundred dollars, ten per cent. down and ten per cent. annually with interest and to take a mortgage back for security.

September 11, 1824, the same vote was passed authorizing the new treasurer, Reuben H. Green, to sell. March 4, 1830, voted to convey to Nathaniel Haskell of Westbrook, one-half township except three lots conveyed by said Haskell to said trustees, dated November 7, 1828, being same one-half mortgaged by Haskell to trustees, September 14, 1824, for twenty-five hundred eighty-four dollars and ninety-two cents, that being the sum estimated to be due trustees from said Haskell on condition he pays, or causes to be secured to be paid that sum to the trustees.

September 2, 1835, George Thacher was authorized to sell and convey the lands belonging to the academy, lying near Moosehead Lake at a price not less than three dollars per acre.

January 27, 1843, voted to sell lot No. 4, Range 6, in the town of Greenville to Frederick Young for one dollar and fifty cents the acre (three hundred dollars for the lot).

September 1, 1847, voted that Gideon Tucker be agent to sell and convey all the lands which belong to this academy in the town of Greenville.

April 24, 1854, at a special meeting to see what action trustees will take on application made for lot of land in Greenville, no action is recorded.

This land was located near Moosehead Lake under the name of Haskell's Plantation. When it became a town the name was changed to Greenville.

The treasurer's books show that on February 12, 1826, Nathaniel Haskell paid a note and interest, four hundred sixty dollars and ten cents and costs twelve dollars and forty-three cents. Haskell was subsequently sued again, an execution obtained, which was renewed in 1829 and again in March, 1830. In 1830, July 6, the treasurer paid for recording deed of Haskell to the trustees. 1836, October 6, the treasurer's inventory mentions as part of the property of the academy, Nathaniel Haskell's deed of six hundred acres of land. In 1847-48, the treasurer received of Young for land in Greenville, three hundred dollars and interest. Therefore, according to the records, the total amount received for the one-half township including

interest was nine hundred seventy-one dollars and ten cents.

Three thousand dollars was required by the charter to be raised and secured for the endowment of the academy before the land was granted. Thirty-eight hundred and twenty-five dollars was contributed by eighty-three persons, a very large amount in those hard times. Nearly all the contributors gave notes payable one-half in July, and one-half in October, 1811.

The contributions ranged from two hundred down to five dollars as will be seen by the following list. The contributors were called subscribers.

Subscribers June 1811.

Cyrus King	\$100	Thos Cutts, Jr.	\$ 50
Joseph Leland	100	Thos G. Thornton	100
Daniel Granger	50	Jonathan Tucker	100
Foxwell Cutts	100	Jonathan Cleaves	100
James Ross	20	Samuel Hartley	150
Israel Lassell	100	Jere Bradbury	20
Abner Sawyer	100	Daniel Stone	25
James Gray	50	Joshua M. Cumston	40
Samuel Gilpatric	50	David Buckminster	20
Samuel Merrill	50	Josiah Stimson	30
William Moody	50	Benjamin Pike	50
John Pike	50	William Todd	25
Capt. Ich'd Jordan	75	Moses Bradbury	100
John Cleaves	25	Moses Jacobs	100
Noah Hooper	20	Daniel Cleaves	200
Col. Thos. Cutts	200	Elisha Hight	20
Joseph M. Hayes	20	Geo Thacher	15
Richd. C. Shannon	100	Jas Coffin	10
Reuben H. Green	50	William Sawyer	10
Jas Carlisle	50	Jere Hill, Jr	10

Daniel Cole	75	Sam'l Moody	30
John Spring	100	Geo Chapman	10
Daniel Townsend	10	Capt. Ich Jordan, deed of 1-3 of an acre of land in Portland, estimated at	140
William Benson	5	Wm. H. Hutchins	40
Simon Emery	5	Nath Goodwin	50
Joseph Foss	10	Luke W. Brooks	30
Ichabod Jordan	10	Solomon Hopkins	10
Jonathan King	20	James Donnell	25
Thomas Smith	15	Wm Freeman	100
Stephen Sawyer	20	Wm P. Preble	30
Mark Fernald	10	Dr. Ezra Dean	30
Samuel Dennett	20	Seth Storer, Jr.	20
John Smith	10	Nathl. Scamman, Junr.	30
Benj Simpson	10	John Emery	50
Sherburne Tilton	20	Joseph M. Hayes, second sub.	20
Nicholas Scamman	20	Josiah Calef	30
Jere Staples	20	John Bourne	25
James Curry	20	Hugh McCulloch	25
Tristram Hooper	30	Ichabod Fairfield	30
Dominicus Cutts	30	Arthur Milliken	20
Stephen Fairfield	10	Benj Patterson	10
Sam'l Pierson, cash,	50	John Tarbox	15

The school could not be carried on by using the income of so small a fund, and from time to time contributions and donations were made by the trustees and others.

October, 20, 1820, "Widow Cleaves" (as appears on the records) gave five hundred dollars in cash. She was the widow of Daniel Cleaves the first treasurer, and the daughter of Parson John Fairfield.

November 21, 1821, a committee was appointed to draw up a subscription paper and obtain fifteen hundred dollars to increase the funds of the academy.

Dr. Thomas G. Thornton, then United States marshal of Maine, gave ten shares Saco bank stock valued at one thousand dollars and thirty-one others contributed six hundred and forty-three dollars, as follows : —

Joseph Leland	\$40	Saml Moody	\$18
Moses Bradbury	40	R. C. Shannon	20
Danl Granger	25	Saml Pierson	25
Wm Moody	25	Benj Pike	10
Andrew Scamman	30	Jno Chadwick	10
Saml Hartley	50	Enoch Goodale	15
Jonathan Tucker	50	Geo Scamman	10
R. H. Green	20	Thos Warren	10
G. Thatcher, Jr.	30	Jonas C. Bradley	5
H. W. Eaton	20	Asa Andrews	5
Jona Spring	20	Nathl Burbank	5
Wm Cutts	30	Danl Deshon	5
Saml White	30	Jas Rounds	5
Saml Merrill	25	Francis Woods	5
Isaac Emery	25	Jona Cleaves	10
Ezra Dean	25		

In consequence of Thomas G. Thornton's gift, the Legislature of Maine passed

An Act to change the name and style of Saco Academy in the County of York.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in Legislature assembled, that from and after the passing of this act, the name and style of said Saco Academy shall cease, and the said academy shall henceforth be called and known by the name and style of Thornton Academy, any law to the contrary notwithstanding : and nothing in this act contained shall be constituted, to impair any of the rights or liabilities of said corporation. (This Act passed January 25, 1822.)

The first recorded appraisal of the property of the academy was made January 10, 1822. There were

many small notes, the largest from Jonathan Tucker for one hundred and nineteen dollars and eighty-seven cents, the smallest E. Hight's, one dollar and sixty-two cents, amounting in all to fifteen hundred forty-two dollars and fifty cents ; also three hundred seventy-two dollars and three cents in notes " in Storer's hands " (probably for collection) and twenty-one bank shares valued at twenty-one hundred dollars. Chemical apparatus, seventy dollars ; four maps of four-quarters of the globe, twenty-two dollars, one map of Maine, six dollars ; one timepiece, thirty dollars ; one thermometer, three dollars. The value of all being forty-one hundred eighty-five dollars and fifty-three cents.

Forty-six volumes of books, one-third acre of land in Portland, one-half township of Eastern Lands, academy, bell and stove, were mentioned but not appraised in this list.

While Mr. Pike was preceptor, on Saturday, July 29, 1848, at half past nine o'clock in the evening, the academy building was discovered to be on fire. The first half of the term had hardly expired. It was, Mr. Pike says in his register, the work of an incendiary as no fire has been kindled in the room for more than two months.

The trustees offered fifty dollars reward, the selectmen of Saco the same amount, for the detection of the culprit, but without success. The school was discontinued for want of a room. If the term had continued uninterrupted the thirty-sixth year of school would have been completed in the old academy. This loss must have been considered a great misfortune, but it

was probably the best thing that ever happened, as matters have turned out.

The Saco high school soon took its place. The academy notes were collected and all the funds carefully invested. On July 25, 1863, John C. Bradbury was elected treasurer.

April 3, 1889, this vote, prepared by Hampden Fairfield, president of the board, was passed unanimously by the trustees.

Whereas on the 25th. of July 1863, our fund was \$15,663.40 and on the 1st. day of April 1886, the market value of the same was \$91,000, an increase of 581 per cent. in 23 years, during which time the only expenses charged to the fund were 83c for "express on bonds" and fifty-six cents for "record of deed," during these years John C. Bradbury of Saco was Treasurer and had sole management of the investments :

Resolved, That the above be put on our records in recognition and appreciation, that the wonderful growth of the fund is the result of the judgment, wisdom and fidelity of our Treasurer.

The following is a list of those who have served as *trustees* (omitting those named in the charter).

1812, Nov.—1818, Rev. Jonathan Coggsell.

1812, Nov.—1826, Capt. Moses Bradbury.

1816, July—1821 } Josiah Calef.
1836—1838. }

1817, June—1826, Seth Storer, Jr.

1817, June—1834, Reuben H. Greene.

1818—1858, Joseph Dane.

1821—1836, George Thacher, Jr.

1822—1829, Phineas Pratt.

1824—1834, Andrew Scamman.

1826—1836, Dr. Henry B. C. Greene.

1826—Dec., 1847, John Fairfield.

1826—1842, Samuel P. S. Thacher.

- 1826-1840, } Moses Emery.
 1842-May, 1881, }
 1829-1859, Dr. Ezra Dean.
 1829-1836, Rev. Sam'l Johnson.
 1834-1840, Amos G. Goodwin.
 1834-1837, Joseph M. Hayes.
 1834-1871, Apr. 7, Sam'l White.
 1836-1863, Seth S. Fairfield.
 1836-1856, Rufus Nichols.
 1837-1838, Jonathan King.
 1838-1842, Dr. George Packard.
 1838-1845, Sam'l Moody.
 1840-1863, Gideon Tucker.
 1840-1857, Thomas Cutts.
 1842-1856, Henry S. Thacher.
 1843-1845, Rev. Samuel Hopkins.
 1845-1849, Samuel Bradley.
 1845-1883, Edmund Perkins.
 1856-1879, July, Richard M. Chapman.
 1856-1894, Feb. 22, Seth Scamman.
 1856-1869, Feb. 1, Thomas M. Hayes.
 1856-1892, John C. Bradbury.
 1857-1879, May, Dr. John A. Berry.
 1859-1884, June, Charles Twambley.
 1859-1862, John W. Fairfield.
 1859-1893, Joseph Hobson.
 1863-1865, Daniel Cleaves.
 1863-1897, Richard F. C. Hartley.
 1868-1888, April, Tristram Scamman.
 1868, April-1881, Dec. 20, Cornelius Sweetser.
 1868, April- , B. F. Hamilton.
 1868, April-1882, Edward Eastman.
 1882, Apr. 5-1889, Sept., Ira H. Foss.
 1882, Apr. 5- , Eustis P. Morgan.
 1882-1891, George F. Calef.
 1882- , Hampden Fairfield.
 1882- , George A. Emery.

- 1883, Apr.-1892, Jan., Joseph G. Deering.
 1883, Apr.- , Calvin F. Gordon.
 1883, " -1884, Dec., John Chadwick.
 1886, Apr. 7- , Franklin Nourse.
 1886, " 7- , Sumner C. Parcher.
 1889, Apr. 3- , Dr. Walter T. Goodale.
 1891, Apr. 1- , James G. Garland.
 1892, Apr. 6- , Joseph W. Symonds.
 1892, Apr. 6-1898, Jan. 14, Col. Charles C. G. Thornton.
 1892, Apr. 6- , George A. Carter.
 1893, Apr. 5- , Hartley Lord.
 1894, Apr. 4- , Abram E. Cutter.
 1898, June 16- , Mrs. Annie C. Thornton.
 1898, June 16- , Harry P. Garland.

Among these trustees were Joseph Dane member of Congress ; Cornelius Sweetser, who in 1881 bequeathed ten thousand dollars to the academy, and also provided that the income of ten thousand dollars more should be expended for its library, and Col. Charles C. G. Thornton who provided in his will for a manual training department in the academy leaving fifty thousand dollars for that purpose.

The following have been officers of the board of trustees : —

Presidents :

- 1811, Col. Thomas Cutts.
 1812, Joseph Leland.
 1821, Thomas G. Thornton.
 March 1824, Jonathan Tucker.
 August 1824, Daniel Granger.
 1839, Ezra Dean.
 1845, John Fairfield.¹
 1848, Jonathan Tucker.

¹ John Fairfield was representative to Congress, governor, United States senator,

1859, Moses Emery.
 1882, B. F. Hamilton.
 1891, H. Fairfield.
 1892, Joseph W. Symonds.¹

Treasurers :

1811, Daniel Cleavès.
 1814, Samuel Hartley.
 1816, Daniel Granger.
 1817, Josiah Calef.
 1821, Reuben H. Green.
 1828, George Thacher.
 1836, Joseph M. Hayes.
 1837, Seth S. Fairfield.
 1863, John C. Bradbury.
 1892, Sumner C. Parcher.
 1895, George A. Emery.

Clerks or Secretaries.

1811, Cyrus King.
 1817, James Gray.
 1834, S. P. S. Thacher.
 1841, Thomas Cutts.
 1857, John C. Bradbury.
 1892, George A. Emery.

Librarian :

July 7, 1820, Josiah Calef.

Fourteen hundred and sixty-seven students attended the old academy and although they had few of the advantages of the present day many have become noble men and women, and all, so far as I can learn, have retained their love for their Alma Mater.

Among this number were the Hon. James W. Bradbury, Hon. Hugh McCulloch, Judge Joseph Howard, Hon. George F. Emery, Gov. John Fairfield, Judge George F. Shepley and many other noted men.

¹ Joseph W. Symonds, LL. D. (Bowdoin), was judge of Supreme Court, Maine.
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A large lot of land (eight acres) was purchased in 1886, and a modern academy building erected in 1888-89, and opened September 9, 1889, for instruction and is now in successful operation.

At the dedication of the new academy Hon. George F. Emery, delivered an address, John S. Locke an historical sketch, Hon. James W. Bradbury and James G. Garland reminiscences (all members of this Society). Hampden Fairfield presided.

The following persons attended the dedication exercises who were pupils in the old academy: —

James W. Bradbury, John C. Bradbury, Joseph Buckminster, George F. Calef, George F. Emery, Hampden Fairfield, James G. Garland, Mrs. Elizabeth L. P. (Adams) Garland, Mrs. Harriet (Nichols) Fairfield, Mrs. Sarah (Fairfield) Hamilton, Joseph H. Moody, Albert H. Gilman, Mrs. Mary L. (Wakefield) Moody, Mrs. Kate (Jordan) Hill, Mrs. Eunice (Butler) Gowen, Mrs. Ann E. (Barrows) Scamman, William P. Moody, Albert G. Thornton, Mrs. Ethelinda (Berry) Leavitt, Mrs. Nancy T. (Littlefield) Hill.

It may be interesting to compare the first year in the old academy and last year in the new: —

The expense of the school in 1813 was about,	\$600,	in 1896,	\$7,564.41
The number of scholars	" " "	50,	" " 184
The number of teachers	" " "	1,	" " 10
Library fund	" " "	\$00,	" " \$10,000
Amount of fund	" " "	\$3825,	" " \$68,713.23
Including lot and building,	" " "	" " "	\$105,073.44
Library	" " "	vols. 00,	" " 2600

A globe, presented by Mrs. Sarah Fairfield Hamilton is the only thing in the new that was used in the old academy.

In volume VIII, page one hundred and seventy-four of the Collections of this Society, the following statements are made :—

Saco Academy was incorporated February 16, 1811, and a half township granted in the charter, on condition that three thousand dollars was raised for its endowment within three years.

The building was erected and the school opened January 4, 1813, with forty-nine scholars, under the charge of Asa Lyman as preceptor. From 1815 to 1819, Ezra Haskell appears to have been preceptor, and in 1820 P. Pratt, with a salary of \$700 a year. In 1822, T. G. Thornton gave the academy ten shares of the stock of the Saco Bank, and the name of the institution was changed to Thornton Academy. The school is no longer in operation, and its funds, amounting to some fifty thousand dollars, remain idle in the hands of the trustees, and which, it is said, by the will of Mr. Thornton, revert to his heirs if they give up their trust. If this be so, and they cannot profitably employ the funds there in promoting the education of youth, there ought to be an enabling act procured of the Legislature, by which they may be surrendered to some other institution, or institutions, which will so employ them.

There are a few errors in this account.

- 1st. The number of scholars is incorrect.
- 2d. Mr. Haskell did not teach so long as stated.
- 3d. Marshal Thornton did not make a will.
- 4th. The funds could not in any event revert to his heirs, as his gift was made and perfected nearly two years before he died.
- 5th. The fund did not amount to \$50,000 at the time that paper was read. If it had, it would not have been sufficient to buy a suitable lot, erect a modern school building, furnish it and maintain a school of high rank for any great length of time, so the trustees acted wisely in increasing the fund.

In other respects the account seems to be correct and the criticism just.

COLONEL JONATHAN MITCHELL'S
CUMBERLAND COUNTY REGIMENT.

BAGADUCE EXPEDITION, 1779.

BY NATHAN GOOLD.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, October 27, 1898.

THE expedition organized by the Americans in June, 1779, to dislodge the British who had occupied the point where is now the town of Castine, Maine, as a base of supplies and a naval station, has been known in history as the Bagaduce expedition, but at that time was called "The Expedition to the Penobscot." The arm of the sea now called Bagaduce River was in former times called Matchebiguatus, an Indian name meaning at a place where there is no safe harbor. At the time of the Revolution it was known as Maja-Bagaduce, which was contracted into Bagaduce and hence the name of the expedition.

The fact that the campaign was a disastrous failure has probably deterred historians from the preparation of a full history of the affair; but as it was one of the most prominent events in Maine's Revolutionary history, it seems proper that the service, with the company rolls of the men who composed the regiments, should be recorded. The men were in no wise responsible for the results, and no doubt acted as well as they could under the circumstances in which they found themselves placed.

It is not the intention to give a complete history of the expedition, but it will be necessary to give some facts to show the magnitude of the undertaking which the government of Massachusetts did not then realize.

June 24, 1779, Gen. Charles Cushing, of Pownalborough, sent a letter to the Massachusetts General Court advising an immediate expedition to dislodge the British before they had time to entrench themselves. They had already given consideration to the subject, and June 25 gave the Board of War directions to engage all state or national armed vessels that could be prepared to sail in six days. They were also directed to charter or impress all private armed vessels available, with a promise to the owners of a fair compensation for all losses and damages they might sustain, and the wages of the men were to be the same as paid in the Continental service. The Board was also to procure the necessary outfit and supplies, and the following were said to have been furnished : — Nine tons of flour and bread, ten tons of salt beef, ten tons of rice, six hundred gallons of rum, six hundred gallons of molasses, five hundred stands of arms, fifty thousand rounds of musket cartridges with balls, two eighteen-pounders with two hundred rounds of ammunition, three nine-pounders with three hundred rounds of ammunition, four field-pieces, six barrels of gun powder, with a sufficient quantity of axes, spades, tents and utensils of all kinds.

The fleet when ready consisted of nineteen armed vessels and twenty-four transports, all carrying three

hundred and forty-four guns. The flag-ship was the Warren, a new thirty-two gun Continental frigate. The fleet was under the command of Dudley Saltonstall of New Haven, Connecticut, whose obstinacy outweighed his ability as a commander of a fleet. On board, beside the sailors, were between three and four hundred marines, also about one hundred Massachusetts artillery-men under the command of Lieut. Col. Paul Revere of Boston.

Gen. Cushing of Lincoln County, and Gen. Samuel Thompson of Cumberland, were each ordered to detach six hundred men from the militia for two regiments, and Gen. John Frost was to detail three hundred of the York county militia to complete a sufficient number of men for the service to be performed. This would have made a total of fifteen hundred men, but in reality there were furnished less than one thousand or about the number of the enemy.¹

The resolve provided that such men as had been previously ordered to be raised in the above named counties, as a part of the state's quota of the Continental army, should be considered part of the said detachment and in case the expedition was carried into effect, the counties were to be exempted for nine months from raising men for the Continental service.

It was a Massachusetts undertaking, and a draft was made on the state treasury for £50,000, to defray the expenses. The merchants of Newburyport and Salem supplied six of the fleet with provisions for two months.

¹ There are indications that more men joined the expedition from Lincoln County after the arrival of the fleet in the Penobscot.

The commander of the land forces was Solomon Lovell,¹ of Weymouth, a brigadier general of the Suffolk County militia. He was a man of courage, but with no experience in actual warfare. The next in command was General Peleg Wadsworth, of Duxbury, who had seen service at the siege of Boston and in Rhode Island. After the war he settled in Portland, where he was a most useful and honored citizen. He, without doubt, was the best officer of the expedition. At that time he was thirty-one years of age. He was the grandfather of the poet, Henry W. Longfellow.

The militia for the expedition was collected with considerable difficulty. The reason given was that there was a misunderstanding of the meaning of the orders among the officers. Parson Smith, of Falmouth, records under date of June 30, 1779: "People every where in this state spiritedly appearing in the present intended expedition to Penobscot, in pursuit of the British fleet and army there." Adj. Gen. Jeremiah Hill testified at the investigation that "the troops were collected with the greatest reluctance so that I recommended martial law. Some were taken and brought by force, some were frightened and joined voluntarily, and some skulked and kept themselves concealed. So upon the whole I collected by return four hundred and thirty-three rank and file." Adj. Gen. Hill reported to Gen. Thompson the situation in Cumberland County and in reply, he said, "If they will not go I will make the county too hot for them." Brigade Major William

¹For the journal of General Solomon Lovell, with a sketch of his life, see Weymouth Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. I, page 14-116.

Todd said that he marched to Casco Bay, July 14, with one hundred and thirty York County men, "several of which were brought with force of arms." He arrived at Falmouth the seventeenth, and found the transports waiting, and he testified at the investigation that there were "too many boys and aged" among the soldiers.

Col. Jonathan Mitchell's regiment was Cumberland County's contribution to the Penobscot Expedition. The rolls of the companies and the history of their service in that campaign are of interest to our state, especially to the people of that county where they lived and to the descendants of those who were engaged in the expedition.

Col. Mitchell entered the service July 1, when he proceeded to collect and organize the men of his regiment. Their first parade together was July 8, and July 11, Parson Deane records that he "preached to the troops." Three days after Gen. Thompson wrote the following letter, probably to the Board of War:—

FALMOUTH, July 14, 1779.

Agreeably to your orders of the 26th of June last, I have detached out of my brigade 600 men, formed them into a regiment and appointed proper officers to command, viz: Col. Jona. Mitchell, Lt. Col. Nathan Jordan, Jacob Jordan first, and Nathaniel Larrabee second major. On the 6th inst. received orders from Genl Lovell to cause said troops to repair to Falmouth to be received by Major Hill who informed me he should be there the 8th, and on the 9th they would arrive at Falmouth and the greater part have been waiting ever since, except those who living near by had leave to return home for want of provisions.

SAM THOMPSON, *Brig.*

General Samuel Thompson then lived in Brunswick, and was the brigadier-general in command of the Cumberland County militia. He was a resolute, energetic and sincere patriot of the Revolution, who for his early devotion to the cause of our independence, and his faithful public services, should be revered by the county of which he was then a citizen.

The following is the roster of the field and staff officers of the army, also that of Colonel Jonathan Mitchell's Cumberland County regiment : —

THE FIELD AND STAFF-OFFICERS OF THE LAND FORCES.

Commander-in-chief—Brigadier-General Solomon Lovell of Weymouth, Mass.

Second in Authority — Brigadier-General Peleg Wadsworth of Duxbury, Massachusetts.

Surgeon General — Eliphalet Downer.

Brigade Majors — Capt. Gowan Brown of Boston, and Capt. William Todd.

Adjutant-General — Capt. Jeremiah Hill of Biddeford, Maine.

Secretary — John Marston, Jr., of Methuen, Massachusetts.

Quarter Master General — Col. John Tyler.

Commissary of Ordinance — G. W. Speakman.

Deputy Quarter Master — Benjamin Furnass.

Dept. Com. of Ordnance — J. Robbins.

Commander of Train of Artillery — Col. Paul Revere of Boston, Massachusetts.

Commissary of Supplies — Joseph McLellan of Falmouth, Maine.

Joseph McLellan, the commissary, was a Falmouth Neck man. He was the son of Brice and Jane McLellan and was born in Falmouth, in 1732. He

married in September, 1756, Mary McLellan a daughter of Hugh McLellan of Gorham, Maine, and died July 5, 1820, aged eighty-eight years. He was one of the committee to prevent the landing of the rigging for Coulson's ship, at Falmouth, March 2, 1775, committee of inspection, commissary of the Bagaduce Expedition, when he was appointed a captain of a company of carpenters. He was a lieutenant in Capt. Joseph Pride's company in Colonel Joseph Prime's regiment at Falmouth, in 1780, and commanded a company from December 6, 1780, until May 1, 1781.

Capt. McLellan was first a mariner then a merchant. He was a selectman; county treasurer twenty-seven years, 1777-1803, and was a committee to build the court-house in 1787. He was a prominent and respected citizen of Portland. His two sons, Hugh and Stephen McLellan were Revolutionary soldiers and became prominent merchants of Portland.

ROSTER OF COL. JONATHAN MITCHELL'S REGIMENT.

Field and Staff Officers—1779.

Jonathan Mitchell,	Colonel,	North Yarmouth
Nathaniel Jordan,	Lieut. Colonel,	Cape Elizabeth
Jacob Brown,	First Major,	North Yarmouth
Nathaniel Larrabee,	Second Major,	Brunswick
Rev. Thomas Lancaster,	Chaplain,	Scarborough
Dr. Nathaniel Jones,	Surgeon,	Cape Elizabeth
Benjamin Jones Porter,	Surgeon Mate,	Topsham
Gideon Meserve,	Adjutant,	Scarborough
Enoch Frost,	Sergt. Major,	Gorham
Nathaniel Hinkley,	Quarter Master,	Brunswick
Ezekiel Loring,	Q. M. Sergt.,	North Yarmouth
		Total, 11 men.

Capt. Peter Warren's Company.

Peter Warren,	Captain,	Falmouth
Daniel Mussey,	1st Lieut.,	"
Peter Babb,	2d Lieut.,	"
		Total, 57 men.

Capt. Joshua Jordan's Company.

Joshua Jordan,	Captain,	Cape Elizabeth
Dominicus Mitchell,	1st Lieut.,	"
Lemuel Dyer,	2d Lieut.,	"
		Total, 53 men.

Capt. Nehemiah Curtis' Company.

Nehemiah Curtis,	Captain,	Harpswell
Isaac Hall,	1st Lieut.,	"
Ebenezer Stanwood,	2d Lieut.,	Brunswick
		Total, 73 men.

Capt. Nathan Merrill's Company.

Nathan Merrill,	Captain,	Gray
Edward Anderson,	1st Lieut.,	Windham
Peter Graffum,	2d Lieut.,	New Gloucester
		Total, 58 men.

Capt. Benjamin Larrabee's Company.

Benjamin Larrabee,	Captain,	Scarborough
Josiah Libby,	1st Lieut.,	"
Lemuel Milliken,	2d Lieut.,	"
		Total, 64 men.

Capt. William Cobb's Company.

William Cobb,	Captain,	Falmouth
Moses Merrill,	1st Lieut.,	"
Joshua Stevens,	2d Lieut.,	"
		Total, 70 men.

Capt. Alexander McLellan's Company.

Alexander McLellan,	Captain,	Gorham
Ebenezer Murch	1st Lieut.,	"
Joseph Knight,	2d Lieut.,	"
		Total, 67 men.

Capt. John Gray's Company.

John Gray,	Captain,	North Yarmouth
John Soule,	1st Lieut.,	"
Ozias Blanchard,	2d Lieut.,	"
		Total, 66 men.
Commissioned Officers,		34
Noncommissioned Officers and Privates,		485
Total,		519 men

July 16, Col. Mitchell's men were embarking on the transports awaiting at Falmouth Neck, now Portland, and by the nineteenth were ready for departure, when Capt. Abner Lowell fired from the battery, a gun as a signal for the fleet to set sail for its destination. The transport on which Capt. Peter Warren's Falmouth company was quartered was the sloop *Centurion*, eighty and one-third tons, Capt. William McLellan of Falmouth Neck. She carried three men for a crew beside the captain. Among the stores sent on board for the use of the crew were seven gallons of rum. This sloop was destroyed with the others, and was appraised at twenty-nine hundred pounds for the settlement with her owners.

Col. Mitchell's regiment arrived at Townsend Harbor now Boothbay Harbor, the rendezvous of the expedition, in the evening of July 19, having sailed from Casco Bay in the morning. Gen. Lovell made his headquarters at Rev. Mr. Murray's house, where the returns of the regiments were examined by him on the twenty-first. The next day the troops were reviewed by the commander-in-chief, which must have been unsatisfactory to him as the men had had no opportunity

to learn discipline, and but few had any knowledge of the manual of arms. The twenty-third there was an unfavorable wind and the expedition remained in the harbor, waiting for a favorable opportunity to sail.

July 24, the whole expedition set sail for Penobscot Bay. The fleet made an imposing appearance as it sailed out of Boothbay Harbor along the coast into the Penobscot. The men on board were in high hopes of success. The fleet came to anchor under upper Fox Island that night. Here they were joined by a party of Penobscot Indians, who reported that Gen. McLean, the British commander, had tried to tamper with them, but to their honor it can be said that they remained true to their promise made in 1775. Our commanders soon learned that the British were entrenched at Bagaduce, and had three sloops of war in command of Capt. Henry Mowat, so well remembered in the history of Portland.

The next day, July 25, found the Americans in range of the guns of the enemy, who commenced firing from the shore, whereupon our armed vessels fired several broadsides at their forts. The British, however, prevented the landing of our boats that night, but the next day, July 26, the vessels warped in, and about noon an attempt was made to land. This was also unsuccessful. About six o'clock that afternoon, while putting off from Nautilus Island where the Americans had made a landing, a boat was struck and Major Daniel Littlefield of the York detachment and two men were drowned.

July 28, about two hundred of the militia and a little over that number of marines were ordered to land

under the guns of the fleet, and the movement was begun about half an hour before sunrise, when the British in ambush opened a galling fire upon the Americans, killing several, among whom was Major Welch of the marines. Our troops replied with effect. A landing was made on the shore under the steep bluff now called "Trask's Rock," at Castine, on the western side of the point. This bluff is one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet high or more at some points. Castine Past and Present says: — "Where the marines made their ascent was quite precipitous for some thirty or forty feet and after that the ground is still rising for some distance and was covered with boulders." The marines and militia divided themselves into three parties, when a most gallant assault, without order or discipline, each man dependent on his personal courage, was made on the enemy above, against a most destructive fire, which they were in no position to return. In twenty minutes our troops were at the top occupying the British ground. The first company to reach that point was Capt. Peter Warren's Falmouth company. During this time our fleet was bombarding the enemy's forces. Gen. Lovell wrote in his journal:—

When I returned to the shore it struck me with admiration to see what a precipice we had ascended, not being able to take so scrutinous a view of it in time of battle; it is at least where we landed three hundred feet high and almost perpendicular & the men were obliged to pull themselves [up] by twigs and trees. I don't think such a landing has been made since Wolfe.

Our loss in this assault is variously stated, Gen. Lovell gives fourteen killed and twenty wounded, while



TRASK'S ROCK.
WHERE THE AMERICANS LANDED.
From Wheeler's "Castine Past and Present."

Gen. Wadsworth says it was about one hundred, which is repeated in most of our histories. The marines suffered the most. It has been truly said that this was the bright spot in the expedition and "that no more brilliant exploit than this was accomplished by our forces during the whole war." It was a trying ordeal to the undisciplined and untried militia and marines, but they exhibited the resolute courage of the American soldier. If the whole expedition had been successful, our histories would have resounded the praises of Gen. Lovell and his men.

Soon after the Americans reached the top of the bluff, they threw up entrenchments so that they might be able to hold the ground they had so heroically gained.

Immediately after this engagement a council of war of the American land and naval forces was held. The officers of the army were in favor of demanding an immediate surrender, but Commodore Saltonstall and some of his officers were opposed to it. Then the army was for storming Fort George, but because the marines had suffered so much in the assault, the commodore refused to land any more and even threatened to recall those already on shore. Then it was that it was decided to send to Boston for reenforcements, which resulted in the starting of Col. Henry Jackson's Continental regiment for their relief.

July 29, the enemy shelled the Americans who maintained their position. In the early morning of the thirty-first a party of soldiers under Gen. Wadsworth captured a redoubt with but a small loss, taking

several prisoners. It was here that Major Samuel Sawyer, sometimes written Sayer, was mortally wounded. He was "a brave and worthy officer," and belonged in Wells, Maine.

August 2, Rev. John Murray, of Boothbay, then Townsend, who had been induced to join the expedition as the chaplain of Col. McCobb's regiment, volunteered to carry despatches from the general to the government at Boston. August 6, Major David Bradish, of Falmouth Neck, also started for Boston with despatches. He was on a visit to the army at the time and not connected with it. The next day, two men of Col. McCobb's regiment were punished for desertion by riding a wooden horse twenty minutes, with a musket attached to each foot.

There was more or less fighting along the line until the seventh, but no general assault was made. On that day a detachment of Americans advanced against the enemy's position to draw them out, but without success. August 9, an attempt was made by our soldiers to land on Hyannis Point, but with no success. August 13, an effort was made to bring on an engagement with the British, which was also unsuccessful. Then it was that our troops actually took the rear of Fort George, but did not get possession. The delay gave the British every advantage.

The next day came the startling news that a British fleet was at the mouth of Penobscot Bay with reinforcements. Upon the approach of the fleet, Commodore Saltonstall formed his vessels across the bay in the form of a crescent, to check their advance

sufficiently to allow the land forces time to make their escape. The British commander, Sir George Collier, feeling such entire confidence in the superiority of his fleet, advanced without hesitation and poured a broadside into our vessels, whereupon they crowded on all sail in an attempt at an indiscriminate flight. The Hunter and Hampden were taken and the balance of the fleet was burned or blown up by their crews.

Gen. Lovell in his journal said :—

The Transports then again weigh'd Anchor, and to our Great Mortification were soon follow'd by our fleet of Men of War persued by only four of the Enemy's Ships, the Ships of War passed the Transports many of which got a Ground & the British Ships coming up the Soldiers were obliged to take to the Shore & set fire to their Vessells, to attempt to give a description of this terrible Day is out of my Power it would be a fit Subject for some masterly hand to describe it in its true colours, to see four Ships persuing seventeen Sail of Armed Vessells nine of which were stout Ships, Transports on fire, Men of War blowing up, Provision of all kinds & every kind of Stores on Shore (at least in small Quantities) throwing about, and as much confusion as can possibly be conceived.

The destruction of the vessels engaged in this expedition was the end of Massachusetts's separate naval force and reduced the national navy of the United States to the very lowest terms.

Our commodore had stubbornly refused to cooperate with the land forces at the proper time and the result was a terrible disaster to the Americans. The army, with the men of the fleet, retreated up the river with little order. Each one looked out for himself and his own safety. They fled to the woods and carried scanty provisions which lasted but a few days, when the men

were obliged to subsist on whatever they could find on the way, until they reached their homes. Some fell by the wayside and perished from starvation and exposure, and many who returned home filled premature graves as the result of the hardships they were obliged to endure. Many of the men said little about their sad experience in this retreat, because it revived unpleasant memories of a service which was a great disappointment to them and for which they were in no way to blame.¹

The following returns of the army at Bagaduce have been preserved: —

July 20, 873 men fit for duty.

“ 31, 847 “ “ “

Aug. 4, 762 “ “ “

“ 7, 715 “ “ “

Another return was made with no date which gave nine hundred and twenty-three men fit for duty, but at least two more companies had joined the army and probably more.

Williamson says of the retreat: —

Guided by Indians they proceeded in detached parties suffering every privation. For, not being aware of the journey and fatigue they had to encounter, they had taken with them provisions altogether insufficient, and some who were infirm or feeble actually perished in

¹Standing on this battlefield a few years since, after making the ascent of the bluff where the brilliant assault was made, and while looking out over the surrounding country and bay, I was carried back in my mind to the summer of 1779 when the events that made that ground historic occurred. Not one was then living to tell the tale. An aged uncle had told me that when a little boy his grandfather had said to him that he was a soldier in that expedition. I was now at the place where my grandmother's father, Stephen Tukey, had fought to drive the British from our state of Maine. There were hundreds of grandfathers there and in justice to their patriotism and loyalty to their country, this history is written that their names may not be forgotten, but be preserved to receive the reverence of their descendants and a grateful people.

the woods. A moose, or other animal, was occasionally killed which being roasted upon coals was the most precious, if not the only morsel, many of them tasted during the latter half of their travels.

The Bagaduce expedition was such a subject of obloquy and remark that the General Court appointed a committee of investigation into the cause of its failure. Gen. Artemus Ward was the president of that committee. Col. Jonathan Mitchell of this regiment stated before them that it was not in the power of Gen. Lovell at any time, with his army, to have reduced the enemy while they were on the ground. He also said that if the British shipping had been destroyed and the land forces had been aided by men from the fleet, armed with muskets, they could have destroyed the enemy. He thought that the British fleet could have been crushed any day before they were reenforced.

In regard to the retreat Col. Mitchell said : —

About one o'clock in the morning of the 14th, I went to Gen. Lovell's marquee. He ordered me to get my regimental baggage and camp equipage to the shore and have my men ready for marching. I did so and at break of day was ordered to march, and at about sunrise embarked them on board transports and proceeded up river above the old forts. There received orders from Brig. Wadsworth through the adjt gen. to repair to a certain height, there to receive and retain as many of the army as came that way. I repaired to the spot myself but I found no men there but the matrossis and Capt. Cushing with them, from the time of our retreat to this time. I had not issued any orders to my regiment not to disperse or to repair to any particular place but only to go up river. I tarried till about sunset and no men came that way, then I went into the woods to look up my regiment. On the sixteenth about nine in the morning I set off for home, but without leave from any superior officer. The eighteenth I arrived at the Kennebec River ;

on the twentieth, at night I reached home ; and on the twenty-first, went to Fort Weston (Augusta) without any men.

Adj't. Gen'l Hill said of the soldiers of the expedition: "If they belonged to the train band or alarm list they were soldiers, whether they could carry a gun, walk a mile without crutches or only *compos mentis* sufficient to keep themselves out of fire and water." The "soldiers were very poorly equipped, the chief of them had arms but many of them were out of repair and very little or no ammunition. Most of the officers, as well as the men were quite unacquainted with any military maneuvers and even the manual exercises."

The night before the assault of July 28, the soldiers had no sleep. Adj't. Hill said that "Col. Mitchell's officers were so terrified at the idea of storming that they found fault with the colonel's nominations and absolutely drew lots on the parade who should go to take command of the men and included those then on guard, and relieve them if it fell to any of their turns." He also stated that "the troops behaved with spirit as far as came to my knowledge, but without any order or regularity and it was with great difficulty that we got them into any order or form of defense after we got to the heights."

August 10, Gen. Lovell called for six hundred volunteers, to test the temper of the troops. Col. Mitchell's regiment was the only one that filled its quota, which was two hundred. Adj't. Hill said that "Col. Mitchell got his 200 with great difficulty, including boys, old men and invalids." The men got

the impression that these volunteers were for a general assault on the British works, the principal of which was Fort George. The other regiments had even more difficulty. At the same time, Col. McCobb could get but one hundred and forty-six volunteers from his Lincoln County Regiment, and Major Cousins had twenty men desert from his York County battalion, and it took so many men to pursue them that he could not furnish his quota. Of a muster of six hundred ordered, only four hundred were secured, which was all the officers said they could find fit for duty. One half of these were from Mitchell's regiment.

The committee after hearing the testimony of the general and regimental officers, and the commanders of the armed vessels, pronounced as their opinion, that "the principal reason of the failure was the want of proper spirit on the part of the commodore." He was blamed for not "exerting himself at all in the time of the retreat by opposing the enemy's foremost ships in pursuit." They also stated "that Gen. Lovell throughout the expedition and retreat acted with proper courage and spirit, and had he been furnished with all the men ordered for the service or been properly supported by the commodore he would have probably reduced the enemy." Also "that the naval commanders each and every one of them behaved like brave experienced officers during the whole time." Then they said that "Brigadier Wadsworth, the second in command throughout the expedition, in the retreat and after, till ordered to return to Boston, conducted with great activity, courage, coolness and prudence."

After hearing the whole report, from which the above are but quotations, the General Court adjudged "that Commodore Saltonstall be incompetent ever after, to hold a commission in the service of the state and that Generals Lovell and Wadsworth be honorably acquitted."

Gen. Wadsworth in a letter to William D. Williamson, dated January 1, 1828, said of the Penobscot Expedition of 1779 : —

In the first place the want of a sufficient land force was a probable cause of the failure. We had less than 1000 men, where 1500 were ordered by the State authority; whose fault this was I know not; but so it was. This was just about the Number of the Enemy; but they were disciplined Troops & fortified with a simple redoubt, which was good however against a simple assault. Our Troops were entirely undisciplined, having never been paraded but once, on their passage down, being put in to a harbour by head Wind; I think at Townsend, nor had these Men ever had the chance for discipline that our western Militia had; however they were generally brave & spirited Men. Each in his own opinion willing to encounter two of the Enemy, could he have met them in the bush; and would our numbers have justified an Attack, I have no doubt but that they would have given the Enemy a brave Assault. Although our numbers were small our Fleet had an imposing appearance, I think the Enemy must have reconed upon at least 3,000 men from the appearance of our Transports.

The same Morning of our Landing a Council was called of officers, both land & naval. Some of the land officers were for summoning the fort, giving them honorable Terms, whilst others dissuaded from the Measure alledging that in case of a non compliance We should be in in a bad predicament; the Commodore and the naval Officers were generally against the Measure; as his officers were chiefly commanders of Privateers bound on a Cruize as soon as the seige was over. The Commodore also refused to lend any more of his Marines in case of Assault and was about to recall the 200

marines which he had lent on our first landing. They had suffered great Loss in the landing. This seemed to put the Question of Storming the Fort out of the Question. The next Question was, what then shall be done? & it was concluded to send off two Whale Boats to the Gov'r & Council with the intelligence of our situation and request a reinforcement while we kept our possession in the face of the Enemy & trust to the event of a reinforcement to the Enemy & of ourselves. In the meantime we reduced our out Posts & Batteries, destroyed a considerable Quantity of Guns, spiked their cannon in all their out works & gave them fair opportunity of Sallying if they chose it.

In the meantime we were employed daily, or rather Nightly in advancing upon their Fort by Zigzag intrenchments till within a fair gunshot of their Fort so that a man seldom shew his Head above their Works. Whilst thus lying upon our Arms It was urged upon Genl Lovell to erect some Place of resort up the River at the Narrows, in Case of Retreat so that the Troops might have a place of resort in case of necessity & also to have some place of Opposition to the Enemy should He push us thus far—but the Genl would hear nothing of the kind; alledging that it would dishearten our Army & shew them that we did not expect to succeed—and forgetting the good old Maxim “to keep open a good Retreat.”

Had the Genl and Commodore kept upon a good understanding with each other & had they co-operated with each other they would have probably stormed and carried the Enemy's Post; & been off before there was any danger of the arrival of the Enemy's reinforcements. Here we may see the policy of securing a place of Retreat. The Fleet might have been saved, the Army kept together and marched in a body wherever wanted, instead of scattering, starving, &c.

Here we had been laying upon our Arms almost inactive 14 days when our Spy Vessels bro't the news of a Large Fleet approaching, which might be expected the next day, if the South wind should prevail. Genl. Lovell was now on board the Warren, Commodore's Frigate and sent his Orders to me to retreat with all possible dispatch, which was effected without leaving a canon or a pick axe behind, the Enemy's Fleet in full view standing up with full sail &

much superior to ours in Appearance. As soon as the Troops, the Cannon and all our implements of War, with the Hospital, were on board, the Transports stood up the River — O, then how we wished for a place of rendezvous, the Transports might have been saved. Our Fleet soon persued the Course of the transports, but soon went theirs, forcing their way through the Narrows against a strong tide with Oars & Studen sails all sett, whilst part of our Transports had run on Shore just at the foot of the Narrows. The troops landed, the flames bursting forth from the midst of them, set by their own Crews. The Emeny persuing to within Cannon Shot, but unable to persue farther against a strong tide, left those that would be persuaded to enter the Transports & rescue a small Quantity of provisions for the retreat & to collect and embody themselves for their own safety. Three or four Companies were thus kept together with which I marched the next morning for Camden, where they arrived the second day & made a stand. The rest of the Troops went up the River in the Vessels of War & Transports landing as they saw fit & then Genl Lovell under the guidance & Assistance of the Indians made his way from the head of the Tide in the Penobscot over to the Kennebec; & in about a fortnite arrived at Townsend when was the first that I had seen or heard from him since Ordering the Retreat. That part of the Fleet that got up the River ahead of the Enemy were either burnt or destroyed by their own crews making their way thro the woods for the Kennebec in a starving condition. Had Genl Lovell been furnished with the Number of Militia which was at first proposed, or had He been appointed to sole command of both Army & Navy, I think it highly probable that he would have reduced the Enemy for He was a Man of Courage & proper Spirit, a true Roman Character, who never would flinch from Danger; but He had not been accustomed to the Command of an Expedition in actual service. The Commodore did not feel himself so much engaged in the Cause. Not that he was, in my opinion, a Coward, but willful & unaccommodating, having an unyeilding will of his own.— Genl Lovell was a very personable Man, I should judge about 50, of good repute in the Militia as well as Senate, a Farmer by profession & I believe lived in Weymouth. Commodore Saltonstall about the same age, of New Haven, Ct. Report said that he fought a very good battle

afterward in a large Privateer which shew him to be a Man of Courage. The command of a Fleet did not set easy upon his shoulders tho he could fight a very good Battle in a single Ship.

Here it may be not improper to mention that the Action at our landing on Bagaduce might have been called brilliant, had the event of the Enterprise been fortunate. But let military Men not talk of glory who lack success. It was on the dawning of the third day after our arrival (the second was prevented by the surf occasioned by a brisk south wind). The morning was quite still but somewhat Foggy. The Vessels of War were drawn up in a Line just out of reach of Musket Shot & 400 Men (viz. 200 of Militia & 200 Marines) were in Boats along side ready to push for the Shore on Signals. The highest Clift was prefered by the commander of the Party, knowing that his men would make the best shift in rough ground. The fire of the Enemy opened upon us from the top of the Bank or Clift, just as the boats reached the Shore. We step'd out & the boats immediately sent back. There was now a stream of fire over our heads from the Fleet & a shower of Musketry in our faces from the Top of the Clift. We soon found the Clift unsurmountable even without Opponents. The party therefore, was divided into three parts, one sent to the right, another to the left till they should find the Clift practicable & the Center keeping up their fire to amuse the Enemy. Both parties succeeded & gained the Height, but closing in upon the Enemy in the Rear rather too soon gave them opportunity to escape, which they did, leaving 30 kill'd, wounded & prisoners. The conflict was short, but sharp, for we left 100, out of 400, on the shore & bank. The marines suffer'd most, by forcing their way up a foot Path leading up the Clift. This Action lasted but 20 Minutes & would have been highly spoken of, had success finally crowned our Enterprise.

The valuable letter, from which the above is quoted, was written to Mr. Williamson while he was preparing his history of Maine, which was published in 1832. Gen. Wadsworth was then nearly eighty years of age, and the events happened over forty-eight years before.

The letter was contributed by Dr. John S. H. Fogg and published in the Maine Historical Society Collections, Vol. II, Series II, Fol. 153.

Gen. Peleg Wadsworth was a member of Congress fourteen years, 1792-1806, and retired at his own request. He built the first brick house in Portland, in 1785 and 1786, then of but two stories, now known as "Longfellow's Home." He removed to Hiram, Maine, in 1806, where he died in 1829, aged eighty-one years. His sons, Henry and Alexander Scammell Wadsworth, were gallant officers of the American navy.

In justice to the Penobscot Indians who served in the expedition, it should be stated that they acted with fidelity and friendship towards the Americans. Some of the tribe lost their lives. Lieut. Andrew Gilman commanded a company of forty-one Indians in the campaign.

The total cost of the expedition is said to have been £1,739,174 : 11s. 4d., and it came at a time when the finances of the colonies were at a very low ebb, and there was very little prospect of the independence of the country.

The occupation of Penobscot Bay by the British caused great uneasiness at Falmouth, and as early as June 20, 1779, Parson Smith records in his journal: "We are in a sad toss : people are moving out. Never did I feel more anxiety." August 17, came the first news of the American defeat, which was confirmed the next day.

Col. Enoch Freeman sent the following letter to the Council at Boston, August 18. For the first five years

of the Revolutionary war Massachusetts was governed by a committee of the Council.

FALMOUTH, Aug. 18, 1779.

SIR :—The invasion of the Penobscot under a very considerable force of the enemy, their progress there and the ravages committed by them in other places at the Eastern part of this State make us apprehensive that they have a design to cut it off from the other part of the State and either annex it to the Province of Nova Scotia, or form it into a separate government under the British Administration.

Under such apprehensions, a number of gentlemen from most of the towns in this County, this day assembled in Convention in this town, to consult what is proper to be done for our safety and defence.

We think that the Harbor here would be of such importance to the enemy, in the execution of what we judge to be their grand design, that they will not much longer neglect to attempt to possess themselves of it, and make it a place of Rendezvous for their troops and ships of Force.—And we are sorry to inform your Honors that such is the state of our fortifications and such the weakness of our Force, that unless some measures are immediately entered into for our protection and defence, we fear we shall fall a prey to their rage and malice. We therefore humbly pray that your Honors would take our case into your serious consideration and order that such steps may be taken as will put us in a good position of defence.

We have recommended to the several towns in this County to raise immediately their respective proportions of one hundred men, to repair the forts here and build others in such places as a Committee (whom we have appointed for the purpose) shall best judge, and we trust the General Court will make provisions for paying them for their services.

And we would request that the Honorable Council would appoint and send as soon as possible, some experienced faithful engineer to take the oversight of the work.

We would further pray that at least two hundred men might be ordered here from the County of York or some other County to the

southward of us, to increase our strength. which is already much reduced.

We also think it necessary that a number of cannon and a suitable quantity of military stores should be procured and sent here to be placed in such Forts as may be erected, and also field pieces, (two we think necessary) And as provisions are extremely scarce here and it would be almost impossible to collect on an emergency as much as might be wanted, we think it absolutely necessary that a Magazine thereof should be provided and placed in a proper part of the town, to be used when an alarm should require it.

I am, in the name and behalf of the Committee, Your Honor's most obedient and humble serv't

ENOCH FREEMAN.

We have this minute received advice (by the bearer who hands you this and who will communicate to you personally) of the unhappy loss of our fleet at Penobscot.

To the above the Council sent the following reply :—

COUNCIL CHAMBER (BOSTON), 26th Aug. 1779.

SIR :—Your letter of the 18th inst was received and the Council have so far complied with your request as to order Col. Jackson's regiment to be stationed at Falmouth for the present and have ordered the necessary stores to be forwarded for their use without loss of time.

J. POWELL *President.*

Col. Freeman.

Hon. Jeremiah Powell¹ lived at North Yarmouth, Maine. He was born June 3, 1720, married Sarah Bromfield, September 15, 1768, and died September 17, 1784, aged sixty-four years. They were buried in the Powell tomb, now unmarked, in the cemetery "under the ledge," at what is now Yarmouth. This tomb is back of Deacon Jacob Mitchell's tomb.

¹ For the Powell family and their history, see *Maine Historical Society Collection, First Series, Vol. VII, Page 233* and *Old Times in North Yarmouth, Page 1163.*

Col. Powell was lieutenant colonel in Col. Samuel Waldo, Jr.'s, regiment in 1762, eleven years in the General Court, twelve years in the Provincial Council, first president of the Massachusetts senate under the Constitution, and nineteen years judge of the Court of Common Pleas, from 1763 to 1781. He was a zealous patriot of the Revolution and lived only to see his country start on the basis of liberty. His grave should be marked by some memorial calling attention to him, his virtues, and his distinguished services to his country.

The Rev. John Murray, the chaplain,¹ wrote from Brunswick to Jeremiah Powell, Esq., under date of August 21, 1779:—

Our case is very bad. Hundred of families are now starving in the woods, their all left behind them, all will despair and the majority will quit the country and the rest will revolt if something vigorous be not done to protect them from the insolence of the tri-
 umping foe who are carrying fire and desolation wherever they come. A large reinforcement of men, intrenching tools, cannon, ammunition and provisions is absolutely necessary to save us. Not a moment is to be lost. A very little delay will put us beyond remedy, but if we are immediately relieved this little disaster need not discourage us. It will, if we act with proper spirit, issue in our good.

In the latter part of August, Col. Mitchell's regiment had reached Falmouth Neck, but arrived there in a disorganized and demoralized condition. Three companies were retained for a garrison and twenty men of Capt. Curtis' company were stationed at Harpswell. All others were discharged.

¹The original letter is in the Massachusetts Archives, Vol. CXLV, Page 146.

Col. Henry Jackson's Continental regiment, which had been ordered from Rhode Island to reenforce the expedition, learned of the disaster off Kittery while on their way. They went into camp at that place. It was then thought that the British, elated at their success, would proceed to Casco Bay and attempt the capture of Falmouth Neck. This of course caused much alarm at that settlement. Col. Jackson's regiment was ordered to march to Falmouth, from Kittery, and arrived there the twenty-seventh, and went into camp on Munjoy Hill, above the Eastern Cemetery, much to the relief of the inhabitants. This regiment had four hundred well uniformed and equipped men and had then participated in the battles of Monmouth and Quaker Hill. This was probably the only fully uniformed and equipped regiment the people of Falmouth saw during the war.

Col. Jackson wrote the next day after his arrival: —

I find this town and harbor is by no means in a state of defence as but a few of the cannons are fit for any long service. To make this post defensible it will be necessary to have a number of heavy cannon immediately sent here: the militia are exceedingly destitute of arms, ammunition and accoutrements as I find by enquiry that not more than one-half are armed or accoutred.

The committee of safety of Falmouth addressed the following letter to the Council: —

Falmouth, 30 August, 1779.

Sir: The Committee of Safety &c for Falmouth would inform the Honorable Board of their embarresments and beg their direction. The return of the seamen from Penobscot in the greatest distress imaginable has obliged us to act as commissary, quartermaster, &c, &c. To furnish them with necessary provisions and to relieve their

distresses we have been obliged to issue some impress warrants: some provisions we have purchased and some we have borrowed. We have observed the strictest economy and order that necessary confusion would admit of; the men returned without officers, without orders.

We shall transmit an account of our doings as soon as the men have been done returning.

Col. Jackson applies to us for some assistance where he has not proper officers to supply them. This however gives us but little trouble: but the militia who have returned from Penobscot are ordered to this place: they are not properly attended with their officers and those who do attend them have not proper directions what to do with their men: they apply to the Committee. The Committee know of no business they have with them; here we are much embarrassed. We have also frequent applications from expresses for assistance, or sometimes are obliged to send off expresses ourselves. New applications of various kinds are daily made to us and new difficulties arise. In short, affairs here are in the wildest confusion. We wish for the direction and assistance of the Hon. Board.

We are &c

The Committee of Safety &c for Falmouth,
Stephen Hall, Chairman.

Hon. Jer. Powell,
Pres. of Council.

Col. Jackson's regiment started on their march to Boston, September 7, as all danger of an attack seemed to be over; but a portion of Col. Mitchell's still remained.

The selectmen and the committee of the town sent the following letter to the Council:—

FALMOUTH, SEPT. 13, 1779.

To the Honorable Council of

State of Massachusetts Bay.

The Selectmen and Committee of Safety at Falmouth beg leave to inform the Honorable Board of the receipt of their letter of the

3rd inst. The enclosed directed to Brig'r Thompson was immediately forwarded. It is now seven days since, but we have not heard of his taking any measures towards raising the three hundred men to be stationed at Falmouth.

The letter from the Hon. Council to Col. Jackson in his absence we took the liberty to open: in answer to which we would inform your Honors that the Regt. from Penobscot was ordered by Gen'l Lovell to Falmouth to guard from this place to Harpswell and to be under the direction of the Committee of Safety at Falmouth.

As a greater part of these were destitute of arms and accoutrements, the Committee thought proper to discharge five of the companies except 20 of the company commanded by Capt. Curtis of Harpswell, who are kept guard at that post. The remaining three companies which were best armed and accoutred are now stationed at this place and at Cape Elizabeth.

We esteem it a duty incumbent on us to inform your Honors that the militia in this County are at present in a situation incapable of defending us in the case of an attack, principally owing to their ignorance and neglect of some of the principal officers of the Brigade.

A convention of this County is to be held next Friday when proper representation of the state of the militia will be made to the Hon'ble Court. We are with sentiments of respect

Your Honors most obed't serv't,

By order in behalf of the Selectmen,

Benjamin Titcomb.

And Committee of Safety

Stephen Hall Chairman.

P. S. A number of small arms and cartridges has lately been received, also a quantity of ordinance goods, addressed to Col. Jackson by the Board of War a particular return of which shall be made by the first opportunity.

In Council, Sept. 22, 1779. Read and sent down.

John Avery D. Secr'y.

[To be concluded.]

A PAGE OF INDIAN HISTORY: THE
WISCASSET TRAGEDY.

BY REV. HENRY O. THAYER.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, Oct. 29, 1896.

THE welfare and peace of the American colonies lay in close touch with statecraft in Europe. France in 1744 cast in her counterpoise to England's alliance with Austria, and at once from Canso to the Alleghanies the game of war began, of which the stake was supremacy in America. The French equipped, often officered, savage allies and sent them down upon the English frontier. In little bands vengeful or eager for spoils, like fierce beasts of prey ranging forth from their lairs, these merciless foes prowled around the settlements. Ambush, stealthy attack, burning of a village, assault upon a lonely house, seizure of farmers at work or a child in sight of its home, were characteristic methods. During four years the horrid work went on. Skulking warriors, belted with scalps or convoying captives, took the trail back to Canada to the markets of human life.

Hostilities ceasing abroad in the summer of 1748, the colonies were freed from these pestilent marauders. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in October opened the way to complete the transient pacification. At Falmouth, in October, 1749, the envoys of the Eastern tribes renewed engagements of amity and once more were dispelled the wrathful clouds that had cast gloom and threatening over New England.

Not ten weeks had passed when a dastardly deed broke in on the existing sense of security and new hostilities seemed imminent. Motives for the wretched crime can not now be clearly discerned, but plainly some malicious intent united with the wicked readiness of a crew of sailors delayed in port to go gunning for Indians.

A party of Indians, roving in their customary way and gaining subsistence by hunting and fishing and trade in free visits to the settlements, were bivouacked unsheltered by any camp in the forest a mile from Wiscasset Point. Here and near was a settlement of about fifty families. The recent pledges of friendliness given at Falmouth, entitled these natives to a sense of security as they plied their vocation. A violent and deadly assault was beyond their thought. Yet in the darkness of a December night a band of armed men came upon them, and with sure aim discharged their guns with murderous effect. In the lack of details, the circumstances must be imagined: a stealthy approach and surprise perhaps, or an open advance upon the unsuspecting watchers who knew not the purpose of the visit till belching guns revealed it; women and children aroused from sleep fleeing hither and thither among protecting forest trees as a flock of partridges after the sportsman's shot shrieks into their midst; the wounded getting themselves away as fast and far as able; one left behind, a chief, dead by the winter's campfire; these are main lines in a picture of shameful crime. Then the miscreants with intent to conceal their execrable deed, dragged the murdered

man, a man though an Indian, to a near brook and thrust the body beneath the ice and went their way.

The assailants were all, or perhaps one excepted, sailors, part of the crew of a ship lying in the harbor, "Mr. Quinceys" probably hailing from Lynn or Salem.

There were seven who fell under suspicion whose names appear in the subsequent proceedings; a part were at fault mainly in getting into bad company. Obadiah Albee, Jr., was regarded the leader and the chief criminal. His father was a recent settler at Wiscasset from Mendon, Massachusetts. Samuel Ball had been a soldier in the recent war, and shared in Col. Arthur Noble's disaster at Mines. Benjamin Ledite¹ was the third in the list, and had also been in the war. Four others, Richard and Benjamin Holbrook, Benjamin and Unity Brown were involved in the affair. The Holbrooks were relatives of the Albee family, with which they and the Browns had acquaintance in Mendon.

Some regarded the Albee family as the responsible originators of the crime, while the others were induced to share in the sport of frightening off Indians or were wickedly ready to indulge their race hatred, or private enmity. Ball's father had been a victim of Indian hostility; and experiences of both himself and Ledite in the war could engender vengeful readiness to seek more victims. Not a word suggests the source of Albee's vindictiveness, but it seems that more than a spirit of madcap adventure led him into this wicked assault. Indeed if in our times with their broader

¹ Written Ledyte, also Dite, Dighe.

Christian views of race brotherhood and humanity, so many have cried out for Indian extermination in the United States, what could then be expected when recurring savage wars during three-quarters of a century heightened in horror by frequent massacre and atrocity, had desolated settlements and with names of the dead and the captive filled in the calendars of distressing years.

The Indians, a wretched company by their fright, and wounds and fears, certainly made speedy departure from so ill a place. By their canoes, they hastened down the Sheepscot River to some part of Parker's Island, at the least ten miles and perhaps fifteen from Wiscasset.

How soon the crime committed in the night of the second of December became known, is not indicated, but as in the view of many the killing of an Indian was of no great consequence or commendable for diminishing by one a perfidious brood, the night's adventure would soon have private mention or even be boasted by reckless men. Three days went by. On the sixth of December two squaws went from their camping-place on Parker's Island to Samuel Denny, Esq., the leading magistrate of Georgetown, living on the adjacent island of Arrowsic, and told him what had occurred. On the same evening two men and the Deputy Sheriff, Captain Samuel Harnden, came likewise to inform him and gave the names of six suspected persons. Evidently the crime slowly gained the public ear at Wiscasset, yet so guardedly that no stir was made till the fourth day, sufficient to require

the cognizance of officers of the law. Then a messenger went through the woods to Deputy Harnden, eight miles distant at the Kennebec. Esquire Denny at once issued warrants for arrests and thoughtfully sent Captain McCobb to provide for the outraged and suffering parties. The next morning, with the energy of a zealous magistrate, well known as a terror to evil-doers, he went to Wiscasset to represent in person the law and to be at hand to order further steps as should be required.

He found an excited community, a portion in full sympathy with the accused and riotously proposing to resist their arrest. As Denny stepped on shore from his boat, an armed mob, disguised by blackened faces, assaulted and threw him down, inflicting slight injuries. Undaunted and resolute, the justice and sheriff confronted the lawless and turbulent crowd and in the end put under arrest five men, and a sixth subsequently. Young Albee, regarded the chief offender, escaped. His father took means to slip him on board a Marblehead schooner that day sailing, even admitting to the captain the fear that his son was concerned in the murder. On the voyage Albee privately owned that he was one of the party and snapped his gun, thereby disclosing that he had no conscience about shooting Indians.

Details of events subsequent to the arrests are lacking, but there was an inquest over the body found in the brook, examination of the suspected persons. Only two men, Ball and Ledite, were held for trial. The two Holbrooks were put under bonds—fifty pounds

each—for their appearance as witnesses. The Browns were released.

Messengers were sent express to Boston to report this startling affair to the governor. Esquire Denny wrote the first details of events on the ninth instant: this was delivered and read in General Court on the twelfth. Not till the fifteenth did the sheriff set out with the prisoners for York jail. The party tarried for the night in Falmouth, at the house of Mr. John Thoms, two miles from the town (near Morrill's Corner as now known). Here the officer lost his prisoners, who were helped to take to the woods. An outcry was raised against Harnden that he was remiss in duty; even had willingly lent himself to a plot, popularly ascribed to Mr. Gowen Wilson, who was present, to allow the men to get free. The General Court ordered their arrest and examination. Captain Harnden reported himself to the authorities in Boston; his statement of the affair was read in the House on January 2, evidently removing all grounds for suspecting him delinquent in duty. Nine years later when savages had struck a murderous blow into his own family, with more reason might he have been accused of readiness to thwart the hand of justice.

The escape of the prisoners was due to a plot of unknown men of the vicinity. Jabez Fox, Esq., wrote to Lt. Governor Phips that a mob at eleven o'clock at night entered the house and released the men, in spite of the sheriff and assistants, who made pursuit without avail, thick snow falling hindering their endeavors. Harnden at once reported the escape to the magis-

trate, Mr. Fox, who sent warrants to adjacent places ordering search and arrests of those engaged in the rescue. Thirteen persons were examined two days after, but evidence was lacking to hold them for trial. The prisoners afterwards told that they had no thought of making escape, but while asleep a party of men awakened them, took them out and told them to go about their business.

A report came that the rescued men had been seen in Gorham. An officer with armed guard searched every house in vain. But two men answering the description did enter Gorham and must have been harbored and concealed. Justice Fox expressed his sorrow that such a spirit prevailed, solicitous to secure murderers from justice. He issued a proclamation offering reward for arrest of Ball and Ledite. Some days after it was reported to the General Court that the fugitives had been seen in the town of Needham—evidently a mistake. On December 26, a reward of fifty pounds each was offered for their apprehension, and twenty-five pounds for any who aided in their escape. Descriptions of the fugitives point out Ball, “middling stature, light complexion, had on blue cloth jacket, blue stockings, an old hatt”; and more important than raiment, which could be changed, “he wears his own hair.” They kept concealed and evaded apprehension for three weeks, perhaps in Gorham, but in traveling westward they were taken by Captain Jonathan Bean, commander of the Saco River block-house.¹ They had examination before Justice Jeremiah

¹ Situated in the present town of Dayton.

Moulton of York, and were committed to the county jail, January 10, 1750. A guard of nine men watched the jail day and night, against a second rescue. Indeed the jail was regarded insecure and a proposition was made in the House for their removal to Cambridge.

The schooner in which Obadiah Albee fled from Wiscasset made a slow voyage to Marblehead, arriving December 21. The captain, Thomas Lewis (Lovis?), then first learning of the reward offered for his passenger, hastened to secure it. He obtained the proper warrant of Joseph Blaney, a justice of the town; but the officer to whom he applied to serve it, "would not have anything to do with it." Meanwhile Blaney hastened cunningly to use the information officially obtained, ferreted out Albee the same evening, and made the arrest, securing his prisoner in Salem jail. Thus he forestalled the skipper, who lost his legitimate game. Both petitioned for the reward, Lewis on the ground that he furnished the information which Blaney successfully used, while Blaney claimed that by the delay caused by the officer's refusal, Albee would have escaped if he had not thus promptly acted. Which got the fifty pounds, I have not learned.

The first report of the infamous deed sent a thrill of anxiety through the province. Governor and legislators perceived they had to deal with a matter of tremendous import. A cloud larger than a man's hand and portentous of war was rising from the Sheepscot and covering the colonies with gloom. Would retaliation prompt and terrible follow? Would another war

so soon spring out of this wanton and malicious assault ? Esquire Denny wrote Governor Phips, " People are much concerned and afraid, and are forward to assist all they can." The sound, thoughtful portion of the inhabitants well knew to what the event might grow. Their aid and countenance to such resolute leaders as Denny and Sheriff Harnden speedily overcame the mob as reckless of consequences in resisting the course of justice, as the miscreants in shooting down inoffensive, peaceable Indians.

The officers of government applied their most assiduous endeavors to the alarming situation. Denny used means to delay intelligence of the murder reaching the several tribes, then sent provisions to the distressed Indians. The party had consisted of fifteen ; now when one man was killed, and two severely wounded, fourteen persons were in a pitiable plight, having no food but the clams which the squaws could dig along shore in the wintry weather. The General Court ordered that the best care be taken of them, and doubtless they fared more sumptuously than ever before. A surgeon also attended the wounded men, named Andrew and Captain Job. The wounds were regarded very severe and fatal results were feared but careful treatment ensured recovery.

The critical posture of affairs among the incensed tribes required skilful and wise effort to quiet and conciliate. As the Kennebec was frozen up and transportation by water was necessary for the comfort and safety of the wounded men, they were taken some time in January to Penobscot, *i. e.*, the settlement in

the vicinity of St. George. The corpse of the murdered chief was taken to the Kennebec and carried up to "the Jesuit's habitation," doubtless Norridgewock, the "old point" station where Rallé's life and evil political scheming had so tragically ended. Capt. Lithgow then in command at Fort Richmond reports giving a blanket to the widowed squaw and another to bury the dead in, according to their custom. The victim had borne the half-anglicized name "Saccary Harry," or in the Indian tongue, Hegen. It appears, though statements are not decisive, that he belonged to the Wawenock tribe, while Capt. Job was a Norridgewock and Andrew an Androscoggin.

Common justice and treaty stipulations urgently demanded the execution of the law designed for such cases. The government immediately took the matter in hand. Opinions of legislators and officers declared a speedy trial necessary. By law one annual session of the Superior Court of judicature was held in the county of York, in the month of June. But an act of 1713 authorized the governor with the advice of the council in emergencies to order a special court. It was proposed to take the benefit of this act and at the very outset of consideration of the case, it was voted December 14, that the governor order a special court to be held at York, as soon as may be for this trial. The governor gave his official consent to the measure; but on the twentieth he sent a message to the House of Representatives declaring that the plan would involve great and general inconveniences, and also the judges by reason of age and infirmities might fail in attendance

to make a quorum. Nevertheless the plan was sustained and the order given for a court to be convened on the twenty-second day of February following.

The prosecuting attorney in behalf of the state was Mr. E. M. Trowbridge. Unable to attend to the details of the case he sent Mr. Daniel Farnham a rising lawyer of Newbury to Wiscasset to gather evidence and take the recognizances of the witnesses for appearance at the court. At the date of the session, Judges Saltonstall and Sewall were present, but the third required judge was detained by illness. The special court failed, verifying the governor's fears. No other judge could then as now be summoned by telegraph, no trial could be had. The attorney, Trowbridge, believed that a speedy trial was very desirable, even if by transfer to another county, but he could not so appoint, and could only bind over the witnesses to the regular June term. Whether Albee was remanded to Salem jail or committed with Ball and Ledite at York, I do not learn. In April the House believing nine men to guard the jail unnecessary, and in view of expense, voted to have six dismissed. The council modified the proposal, but the House adhered to its former vote; the council would not concur. The House, however, found a way to win; it had control of the strings of the public purse, so it voted pay and rations for three men only to guard the jail. The six then could continue to watch if they choose.

In this period of strained relations and anxiety the conduct of the Indian tribes concerned was highly commendable. They waited very patiently for the

English to do them justice by execution of the laws. Capt. Lithgow at the Kennebec reports in February his endeavors to repress any rising resentment, to disarm their discontent. He emphasized treaty stipulations in regard to private revenge, the agreements to have recourse to law in all grievances or quarrels, showed the strenuous efforts of the government to apprehend those offenders, and its abhorrence of such crimes and sincere wish to do justice. The position of officers Lithgow and Bradbury and others on the Maine frontier was a delicate and trying one, and their judicious services were of high value in conciliating the Indians and preventing hostile demonstrations. When three months were gone and no execution of the law against those whom they esteemed murderers, when the trial was postponed three months further they began to reveal their discontent. The white man's legal machinery moved very slowly and they became uneasy lest it might fail; nor were it strange if they should suspect that nothing would be done to redress the wrong. A letter of April 9, from Capt. Bradbury in command at St. George fort, near which I conclude were or had been the wounded men and families, expresses the general surprise at the delay in the trial. He gives his opinion, if there must be further delay, the Indians need immediate satisfaction or there will be ill consequences. The House returned reply directing him to show the Indians the reasons for the delay and that the trial would occur in June. Then Loran, the Penobscot chief, sends a letter to the governor

indited at St. George, April 17, revealing the state of feeling in his tribe, and making an appeal for justice in a manly, moderated, self-possessed tone which does him honor. He says, "The man that did the mischief and consequently broke the league between us we would have brought down here ;" a hint of a suspicion that justice will not be meted out to Albee, because he is confined far away in Massachusetts. He continues, "It was you that struck us and you have the power. We think they that did the mischief was set on by those who had command in that place. If they are brought down here then that affair may be determined. We have waited patiently ever since and as you told we should have justice done us so we expect you will really do it." There is pathos in this simple appeal for justice by confessed weakness to manifest power. The Indian had been learning his real impotence in comparison with the forces of the province. He could annoy and terrify, could take here and there a scalp or burn a house, could be an ally of the stronger power, France, could retard the onward movement of settlements, but alone how weak to resist or make demands. Yet as a man he asks justice. Loran's opinion that those who committed the crime had been set on by those in command is a hint that personal retaliation was a motive in the case, for it may be recalled that Capt. Jonathan Williamson of Wiscasset, was seized by a party of Indians in 1747, and carried to Canada, and had been restored about a year previous to this murderous assault. The Indian chief thinks

the white man, as well as he, can be actuated by revenge. Such an interpretation of his meaning is reasonable, however baseless the suspicion.

The Superior Court of Massachusetts sat in York County for its annual session on June 12, 1750.

Early in the session "Obadiah Albee, Jr.,¹ of Wiscasset, laborer," was arraigned for the murder of Saccary Harry *alias* Hegen. It is probable that Mr. Trowbridge who had come in February to manage the case was now present for the prosecution. Who appeared in behalf of the prisoner is not shown. There is no hint of the character of the evidence presented, nor what defense was made. After a full hearing as the records state, the jury by their foreman, Job Banks, brought in their verdict, "not guilty." Hence it was ordered "that Obadiah Albee go hereof without day." The verdict was astonishing, judged by the common knowledge and expectation. The trial was brief for it terminated before the fifteenth as on that date Parson Smith of Falmouth enters the result in his journal—"Albee was acquitted to the great surprise of the court. This unhappy affair gives the county an ill name, and it is feared will bring on war." Williamson² wrote, "The Court were quite dissatisfied with the verdict."

¹ He is not styled "seaman" and there is doubt if he was one of the ship's crew though Esquire Denny's first report said all were sailors. It is a curious coincidence that at the Court of Sessions for York as it sat in January following the murder, four English sailors bound over to this term by Esq. Denny failed to appear and their recognizances were declared forfeited and proceedings instituted against their bondsmen who were Wiscasset men. Still nothing indicates their offense, or any connection with this case. There were James Richardson of Scotland, sailor, William Pain of London, shipwright; John Moore of London, gunner, Thomas Willard of Old England, sailor. We know S. Frost met in Lynn several sailors who had left Quincey's ship at Wiscasset and were on the way to Boston, who told him details of the occurrence.

² History of Maine, Vol. 2, p. 267.

Nevertheless the highest tribunal of the state to which all must look for justice had declared young Albee free from the law's demands in respect to the alleged crime.

While public attention had been turned expectantly or anxiously to the coming trial, a voice from the Kennebec spoke sharply the impatient demands of the irritated tribes. From Richmond Fort, Asserimo, *alias* Sawwaramet, chief of the Wawencocks, to which the murdered man belonged, sent a letter, the message of his tribe to the governor. He refers to the treaty at Casco, not nine months previous, to the agreements against private revenge, the appeal to the laws in all quarrels, and says: "We liked it well: soon after these promises your people went out of the path we then had made and killed our brother and wounded a Norridgewock man and one of the Arsegunticook men. We have waited long for justice. Now, brother, we would, and our young men would, have you be quick in putting those murderers to death within a month, to cover the blood that now lies on the ground, which we desire covered or else all will not be well."

This letter of June 9, uttered for the tribe their worn out patience, their indignation, their covert threats. It had a firmer, even fiercer tone than Loran's from St. George. Written on the Saturday previous to the sitting of the court at York, it could not have been transmitted and made public till Albee's trial was ended. It should not have influenced the course of justice even in earlier reception; but it did show that this aggrieved tribe, yet loyal to

treaty stipulations and restraining the native spirit of retaliation, was crying out for legal redress and the penalty of the law upon their assailants. A few days later, in the white man's high court of justice, after an impartial trial in a presumed plain case, a jury under oath say "not guilty," and the accused murderer goes free. One may compare the verdict of the chief and of the jury, the sentiments of the tribes, the judges, and the public, and feel confident that a true administration of justice failed in this case. Yet it is notorious that seldom or never did a jury convict a white man for high crime against an Indian. Still present opinions must be held with caution in respect to the fairness of the jury. We know almost nothing of the evidence, how precise and conclusive. It seems certain that one of three men fired the fatal shot. But unless testimony was very direct to the point, might not an unbiased jury hold a reasonable doubt if certainly Albee's gun sent the bullet which struck down the Wawenock chief?

The letter of Asserimo was laid before the Council and House on June 23. It was a spur to action. It meant plainly: give the Indians due satisfaction; the failure will be your peril. Also the result of the trial itself demanded a new course of action. It became manifest to bench, bar and spectators in the court room at York, when young Albee was acquitted, that for the ends of justice it would be of slight avail to proceed to the trial of Ball or Ledite. They must be held in strict custody and the wisdom of the wise applied to the situation.

The General Court at once evolved its plan of action, comprising two particulars; the early trial of the two remaining prisoners in another county than York; invitation to chiefs and relatives of the deceased to be present at the trial. Action went forward along these lines, but not smoothly. On the twenty-sixth of June, a bill was brought in to transfer the trial to the county of Middlesex, since it could then occur in August, otherwise must be deferred in York a whole year, and could not there probably be impartial. In the consideration, Boston, in Suffolk County, was substituted, and then at the third reading in the House the bill was negatived. The removal of the two prisoners from York was included, but as the bill failed, it is not learned if they were transferred for sake of security, and probably were not, though a separate vote was passed to that end. Investigation was ordered into the law for convening special courts on extraordinary occasions, that its intent and scope might be explained. Evidently objections existed in legal minds and hesitation to employ this provision of law to secure the desired trial at an early date in York County. As a result of this inquiry, the law was modified and the objectionable features removed in the following year. But all efforts and expedients proved abortive, and nothing was done to give the irritated Indians immediate satisfaction. Asserimo's stern demand had startled for a little, but no fitting response could be made.

Governor Phips, however, early in July, sent a letter in reply to the Indians. He mentioned the postponed trial caused by sudden sickness of a judge;

the acquittal of Albee, after an impartial trial ; informs that there was not time for trial of the others ; shows the expenditure of some thousands of pounds in the affair in efforts to do them justice ; invites some of them to come to the trial to learn the sincere intentions of the government ; and adds compliments of peace and good-will. But did the native mind apprehend clearly such action of government machinery, so easily stopped, so poor a product of its working ? was it not a puzzle or a fraud that it let a criminal go free ? that it gave so little justice at so large cost ?

Now the policy of conciliation was employed ; the widow, relatives of her deceased husband, the wounded men, several chiefs, were invited to Boston. Captain Sanders, in the government sloop, sailed in July, and on return trip from St. George and Richmond brought these guests of the governor and the city. Received in the council room, they were officially and kindly welcomed on August 3. The governor expressed his gratification at their presence, mentioned the recent sad events, the trials, his desire to do everything possible to secure a good understanding—hence this invitation to a friendly conference. At a second meeting, the chiefs declared their wish for “a good agreement,” but also asked that the blood shed should be “covered,” yet said they did not wish the life of him who spilt it. On being questioned, they explained that in the past they had accepted a present as an atonement, and they proposed that in this way the blood should be covered. They told that their council had determined that no squaw should go to Boston,

and hence the widow was not there, but they wished some present to be sent to her. Other matters were considered, and the interviews terminated with drinking healths, salutations, and seeming cordial relations established. Presents were dealt out to them, tokens of good-will and especially equivalents for their grievances and sufferings. To Toxus was given a blanket, a shirt, stockings, and the pride and joy of the simple Indian, a laced hat; for the widow also a blanket, a shift, a pair of stockings, and a brass kettle; to the wounded men and the brothers of the deceased and to five children, various useful and pleasing articles, with clothing and money; to all was furnished a generous supply of food and better still, considerable quantities of that much coveted article—rum. Imagination must detail the other enjoyments of this privileged excursion party, some thirteen, stoically taking in the wonderful things of the big village of eighteen thousand inhabitants, viewing houses, shops, markets, church spires, forts and their big guns, soldiers on parade, tall masts and piles of merchandise at the wharves, the drive of business in Dock Square and State Street, the elegant dwellings in Cornhill, Beacon and Tremont.

Again the good sloop Massachusetts swung out her main boom, set topsail and jib and bore the party to the Eastern forests again, honored, enriched, gratified, perhaps satisfied to call the account settled. Still from Umbagog and Rockamecook to Kenduskeag and Castine, many who had not visited Boston held unyieldingly the bitter or angry question if any proper satisfaction

would be made to their claim for justice. They who retained most of the old savage spirit, the younger, the irritated, the hot-headed, would not allow English wheedling and gifts to stand as the price of blood. Now repressed resentment ripened into action and a cry of fear and foreboding startled the disturbed province, for again the stealthy foe is abroad, and there are desolated homes and empty seats by the evening fire.

Then followed a degree of quiet with vigilance and strengthening of defenses. The winter passed and on April 4, 1751, the House of Representatives consider "what shall be done with the prisoners in York jail." Again removal of the trial to another county is proposed, but nothing is effected. Soon the month of June brought the annual session of the Superior Court for York County. Eighteen months have passed since the tragedy at Wiscasset and one year since the disappointing trial of Albee. Now his associates, Ledite and Ball, are arraigned for their part in the deadly assault. First, Benjamin Ledite of Wiscasset is called to answer to the indictment for "being present with Albee aiding and abetting" in the murder. On this charge he was adjudged "not guilty." Again Ledite is charged with "assault on Job and Andrew with intent to kill, having a gun charged with gun powder which he did discharge and did shoot at Job and Andrew, and did maliciously shoot Andrew in the left part of the back with a bullet, and wounded him grievously, and Job in the right groin with two swan shot, so that their lives were dispaired of." The jury by Joseph Chadbourne foreman, rendered the verdict "guilty." Sentence was

at once pronounced : — “That you Benjamin Ledite sit on the gallows with a rope about your neck one hour, and be whipt under the gallows twenty stripes on the naked back, and stand bound to keep the peace three years in the sum of £100, and pay the costs.”

The records say “Ledite with Samuel Ball” was arraigned on this second indictment, as if the two were tried together as associates in the crime, but further omits the name of Ball in separate indictment, verdict or sentence, and so leaves us in doubt of the action of the court concerning the accused man. At the least he and his companion had eighteen months in jail, and if Albee had been held in confinement an equal period that would have been nearer his deserts than the earlier trial which gave him freedom. In March, 1751, Samuel Ball and another prisoner broke out of York jail by displacing the iron grating and digging away the brick and stone wall. Perhaps he was not captured and hence escaped the trial.

After so long delay the administrative processes of law in respect to this wretched felony were at an end. The governor told the Indians when they disclaimed the wish for any one's life but were willing to compound the felony and their grievance by presents, “by our laws they must be brought upon trial and if they are found guilty justice must be done.” The speaker replied, that as it was the custom of the nation, “You must do as you are obliged to.” Here possibly they gained an idea of the jurisprudence of civilized nations, an idea dim, doubtless, of laws as supreme above the pleasure of individuals, so that they must be enforced

in exactness or severity or sometimes restrained by mercy, though the aggrieved or injured are satisfied in other ways.

When the result of the trial was made known to the tribe perhaps they were content, perhaps smiled or sneered at such a penalty—a rope and a whipping—perhaps discerned an intent to do justice, though the methods seemed so slow and faulty, or indeed, cared not at all for [already had they pronounced sentence and executed it, as will be further shown.

From materials gathered out of official papers and records has been drawn this narrative of a wanton crime. Disastrous consequences followed in its train and only wise management warded off a general war.

This unfortunate affair at Wiscasset, has been treated by historians as if occurring in a street wrangle or angry encounter.¹ Certainly the official papers have not a suggestion of such a cause of the crime. It has been written, "A violent quarrel between several white men and some Indians." Truly "a quarrel," such as the wolves and sheep have when the former raid the fold: such "an affray" as sportsmen and the deer have when stealthily the guns belch death into a sleeping herd. The squaw told the story of the assault to Esq. Denny, and if clearly incorrect he would not have sent an unmodified report to the governor. Some ill speech or repelled insult on a previous day, stirring bad blood is possible, but is discredited by all the

¹ Williamson's *History of Maine*, Vol. 2, p 286. Willis's *History*, Portland, p. 424 and note in Smith's *Journal*, p. 142. North's *History*, Augusta, p. 32. Eaton's *History of Warren*, p. 86; and elsewhere.

records and the circumstances. The Indians in letters and complaints charge the breach of the peace upon the whites. The governor in reply, in addresses and at conferences with them freely admits it, and has not a word referring to any antecedent condition to originate or excuse the crime. Beyond question the dastardly midnight assault was no hasty impulse of a moment's anger, rather a deliberate plan, coolly executed for jovial adventure or in wicked intent to do the Indians harm.

Other manifest errors in several histories should be noted; as, "Albee and the Holbrooks confined at Falmouth, escaping after a few weeks:" not one of these, but instead Ball and Ledite were at Falmouth; the escape was in the single night's tarry on the journey to York jail, and not in Wilson's, but in Thoms' house; also, no trial was held in Middlesex County, though proposed; nor was Albee there convicted of felony, but his associates were the next year at York; the names of the Holbrooks, have in some way displaced those of the real criminals. Nor did "the culprits surrender themselves." Albee was hunted out and arrested in Lynn; Capt. Bean's report indicates that he recognized and arrested Ball and Ledite as they were traveling towards the western towns.

HALLOWELL RECORDS.

COMMUNICATED BY THE LATE DR. W. B. LAPHAM.

[Continued from Page 434, Vol. IX.]

William Henry Page, son of Benjamin Page, married Sally, daughter of Joshua Wingate. Their children are as follows, viz. :—

Lucretia, born Sept. 27, 1811; died March 19, 1850.

Adelaide, born Feb. 7, 1813.

William Henry, born July 12, 1818; died July 1871.

Michael Morrison, son of Morrison, was born in Newburyport, December, 1773. Married Paulina Chipman of the same place. Their children are as follows, viz. :—

Henry, born 1796.

Paulina, born May, 1799.

Wyat St. Barb., born Jan., 1801.

Mrs. Paulina Morrison died, and Mr. Morrison married Anna, daughter of William Hackett of Newburyport. Their children are as follows, viz. :—

Michael James, born Apr. 9, 1813.

William Albert, born June 29, 1815.

Paul Stickney, son of Thomas Stickney, married Pemela, daughter of John and Therasa Stratton of this town. Their children are :—

Mary Gage, born Aug. 12, 1819.

John Henry, born Dec. 7, 1830; died Nov. 20, 1833.

John Henry, born Apr. 13, 1836.

Winthrop Morse, son of Elisha Morse and Patty Howe, his wife, was born in Hopkinton, Massachusetts, September 7, 1793. Ordained as a Baptist minister in Hallowell, September 9, 1818. Married Emily, daughter of Ephraim Parkhurst of Framingham. Their issue :—

Martha Elizabeth, born Dec. 19, 1819.

Mr. Morse removed from this place August, 1820.

James Branscomb, son of Arthur Branscomb and Mary Hill, his wife, was born in Newmarket, state of New Hampshire, February

28, 1787. Came to this town with the family of Jonathan Longfellow, 1798. Married Clarissa, daughter of Simeon Hilton of Falmouth, now Westbrook. Their children are :—

Mary Elizabeth, born June 6, 1815.

Arthur Henry, born July 16, 1820.

James Preble, son of Benjamin Preble and Joanna Bean, his wife, was born in York (Maine), May 16, 1777. Came to this town February 11, 1811. Married Nancy, daughter of John P. Egan of this town. Their children are :—

Joanna, born Dec. 28, 1813.

Katharine, born June 11, 1818; died Apr. 5, 1842.

Harris Newall, born Dec. 27, 1822.

Oliver, born Feb. 11, 1826; died March 2, 1847.

Asa White, son of William White, married Sally Davis of this town. Their children are :—

Mary, born May 17, 1819.

Lydia, born Dec. 22, 1821.

Rebeca, born Sept. 8, 1824.

Rufus, born Feb. 27, 1826.

Octavia, born Nov. 7, 1828.

Jesse Atwood was born in Ware, state of New Hampshire. Married Polly Ladd. Their children are :—

Jonathan, born July 1, 1799.

Thompson, born Sept. 28, 1800.

Samuel, born Aug. 4, 1802.

Nancy, born Apr. 28, 1805.

Daniel, born Apr. 24, 1807.

Betsey, born Nov. 5, 1810.

Larkin, born July 22, 1812.

Ruth, born Dec. 5, 1814.

George, born Sept. 11, 1817.

George Wales Carr, son of Thomas H. Carr and Bethiah, his wife, was born in Hallowell, July 6, 1815.

Nathaniel Wing, son of Barney Wing and Hannah Berry, his wife, was born in Harwich (now Brewster), December 25, 1768. Married Polly, daughter of Samuel Crosby, of the same town, who

was born June 26, 1774. Came to this place with his family September 17, 1799. Their children are :—

Nathaniel, born Dec. 17, 1799; died Feb. 27, 1833. .

Lovanza, born June 11, 1802.

John, born May 28, 1806.

Mary, born Dec. 23, 1808.

Freeman, born June 26, 1812.

Hiram, born May 11, 1816.

Charles, born Dec. 9, 1818.

Mr. Nathaniel Wing died November 30, 1834.

John Kean, son of Timothy Kean was born in the county of Clare in Ireland, June 24, 1750. Came to America in 1760. Came to this town 1794. Married Margaret Forrester of Pownalborough. Their children are :—

John, born Feb. 5, 1784.

James, } twins, born May 2, 1786.
Mary, }

Peggy, born June 12, 1788.

Betsey, born Nov. 10, 1790.

Jane, born Dec. 13, 1792.

Harriet, born Sept., 1795.

Margaret, born June 24, 1799.

John Kean, son of the above, married Hannah Robinson of Bath. Their children are :—

Susan, born Jan. 26, 1812.

Arabella, born, Apr. 3, 1813.

Margaret, born Feb. 10, 1815.

Hannah, born 1817.

Mary, born May 3, 1819.

Mr. John Kean died August 26, 1848.

James Kean, son of John Kean, married Isabella Turner of Bath. Their children are :—

Mary Ann, born May 15, 1818.

Sarah, born June 17, 1820.

John McKay, son of _____, married Mary, daughter of John Kean. Their children are :—

James Henry, born Sept. 24, 1809.

William, born Dec. 24, 1810.

Margaret, born Aug. 24, 1812.

Daniel, born Oct. 16, 1814.

John, born Jan. 18, 1817.

Peter, born Aug. 17, 1820.

Mrs. McKay died July, 1825.

Mr. McKay married Mary R., daughter of Levi Greenleaf. Their children are :—

Caroline P., born March 15, 1830.

Anna, born Aug. 5, 1832.

Thadosia, born July 13, 1834.

Josiah Rollins was born in Newcastle, Maine, August 26, 1769. Married Huldah Richards of the same town. Came to this town July, 1818. Their children are :—

William, born Feb. 1, 1808, }
 Mary, born Apr. 4, 1810, } in Jefferson.
 Betsey, born Aug. 11, 1812, }

Sally, born Feb. 21, 1815, }
 Hanuah, born July 7, 1817, } in Malta.

Lucinda, born June 24, 1820, in Hallowell.

Nancy Train, daughter of the above named Huldah, by a former husband, born August 25, 1804, in Newcastle. Eleanor Robinson, daughter of the above Josiah, by a former wife, was born February 22, 1802, in Jefferson.

Mr. Josiah Rollins died March 3, 1851.

Eliphalet Rollins was born in Newcastle, Maine, November, 1759, Married Mary Jones of said town. Their children are :—

Joseph, born Sept. 11, 1796.

Abigail, born Sept. 4, 1799.

Alexander, born Apr. 18, 1801.

Lydia, born Nov. 8, 1803.

James, born March 5, 1807.

Paul, born March 27, 1810.

Samuel Winter, son of Samuel Winter and Alice Sturwich his wife was born in Purborough, county of Sussex in England, May 10, 1776. Married Jane Stringar of the same town. Came to this town May 31, 1820. Their children are :—

Fanny, born Sept. 20, 1806,	}	in Purborough in England.
William, born May 9, 1807,		
Eliza, born March 6, 1809,		
Jane, born Oct. 21, 1810,		
Charles, born Sept. 26, 1812,		
Mary, born June 24, 1814,		
Samuel, born June 24, 1814.	}	in Hallowell.
Ellen, born Sept. 26, 1818,		
Thomas, born Mar. 5, 1821,		
George, Feb. 2, 1824,		

John Goodwin, son of Andrew Goodwin, married Nancy, daughter of William Springer of this town. He was born January 25, 1784. Their children are :—

John Andrew, born Dec. 17, 1815.
 Mary Springer, born July 2, 1817.
 James Oscar, born Dec. 2, 1818.
 Greenleaf, born Mar. 17, 1820.
 Hannah Springer, born Aug. 21, 1821.
 Edwin Springer, born Aug. 21, 1821.
 Charles Frederick, born June 8, 1822.
 George Franklin, born June 8, 1822.
 William Henry, born June 17, 1823.
 Eugene Augustus, born Apr. 10, 1833.
 Thomas Philbrook, born Feb. 3, 1835.

William White, son of Benjamin White, married Lydia, daughter of Ezekiel Page. Their children are :—

Timothy, born July 25, 1785.
 William, born Nov. 5, 1787.
 Asa, born Aug. 15, 1790. Died.
 Stephen, born Oct. 12, 1794.
 Freeman, born Oct. 8, 1797.
 Rufus, born Apr. 28, 1800.
 Joshua Tayler, May 16, 1802. Died.
 Levi, born Aug. 7, 1805.

Timothy White, son of the above named William, married Hannah Davis of this town. Their children are :—

Warren, born March, 1812.
 Sena.
 Emeline.
 Timothy.

William White, son of the above named William White married Charlotte Lovell of this town, formerly of Starks. Their children are :—

James Madison, born Feb. 19, 1809.

Clarrissa, born Dec. 6, 1812.

William, born June 13, 1814.

Henry Sumner, born Aug. 19, 1816.

Sophronia, born Aug. 28, 1822.

Alonzo Russell, born Feb. 19, 1829.

Olive Jane, born June 19, 1831.

James Atkins, son of James Atkins and Content Lander, his wife, was born in Sandwich, May 4, 1764. Married Hannah Nye, of the same town, who was born January 17, 1769. Their children are :—

Hannah Nye, born Aug. 21, 1791.

Thomas Nye, born July 8, 1794.

James, born Apr. 20, 1797.

Harriet, born Sept. 28, 1799.

Celia, born Nov. 9, 1801.

Eliza, born Aug. 4, 1805.

Rebecca Freeman, born Jan., 1809.

Mr. James Atkins died February 2, 1819.

John Jones, son of James Jones and Huldah Hancock, his wife, was born in Madison, December 3, 1784. Married Hannah, daughter of — Jones, of Sydney; came to this town 1808. Their children are :—

Mary, born Sept. 8, 1810.

John, born July 2, 1812.

Augustus, born Aug. 15, 1814.

Harriet, born Mar. 5, 1817.

Caroline, born Aug. 15, 1831. adopted—a daughter of Mrs. Jones.

Mrs. Hannah Jones died November 11, 1849.

Alexander Medee, son of Thomas Medee, was born in Ipswich, Massachusetts, June 27, 1790; married Charlotte Brown, of the same place; came to this town October, 1815. Their children are :—

Mary, born Sept. 7, 1816.

Thomas, born Mar. 2, 1820.

Frederick, born Oct. 6, 1823.

Alfred, born Dec. 12, 1825.

Stephen, born Oct. 16, 1828.

Lucy, born Mar., 1835.

Charlotte Medee, born Mar., 1830, adopted child.

James Brown, son of Joseph Brown and Charlotte Tinges, his wife, was born April, 1782. Married Hannah, daughter of Thomas Medee, of Ipswich. Their children are :—

Hannah, born Aug. 22, 1804.

Thomas, born Mar. 20, 1807.

James Warren, born Feb. 7, 1809.

David, born June 16, 1811.

John, born July 15, 1814. Died.

George, born Sept. 30, 1815.

Lucy, born Mar. 2, 1820.

Charlotte, born Sept. 4, 1824. Died Sept., 1827.

Eliza Ann, born Sept. 4, 1827.

Gideon Barker, said to be of this town, married Lavinia, daughter of Joseph Brown, of this town. Their issue is one son, named Abijah, born September 10, 1812.

Mr. Barker died and his widow married John Morgan, of Pittston. Their children are :—

Abigail, born Sept. 26, 1818.

William, born Aug. 12, 1820.

NOTES.

AN AUTOGRAPH OF JOHN HOLMES.

MR. Noah Brooks sends to the secretary of the Maine Historical Society the following note :—

To the Secretary.

THE ARK, CASTINE, MAINE, OCTOBER 4, 1896.

*Dear Sir :—*The enclosed autograph of John Holmes, once senator from Maine, and several times Representative in Congress from the district of Maine, might possibly be valued by the Maine Historical Society.

As you will see it was addressed to the publishers of the National Intelligencer, Washington, and gives the announcement of the death of his father.

Senator Holmes' first wife was the sister of my father, the late Barker Brooks. His second wife was Caroline Swan, a daughter of Gen. Henry Knox.

Yours sincerely,

NOAH BROOKS.

The enclosure to which the above note refers is as follows:—

Died in Kingston, County of Plymouth, Mass^{ts}, on the nineteenth, Mr. Melatiah Holmes, father of Mr. Holmes of the U. S. Senate, aged 83 years. He died at his residence on his farm which he had occupied about 60 years. His ancestors were among the first settlers who landed at Plymouth. Please to insert for

J. Holmes.

In the July number of the Quarterly, sixteen lines from the bottom of page two hundred and ninety-one, the name Kenniston is a mistake; it should read, "her sister Eunice [Beath] Fullerton adopted the babe." The author of this article has had letters from members of the Society asking for the name of William Fullerton's wife. William Fullerton¹ married Jennet Beath¹, a sister to Walter Beath¹, and consequently John Beath² and Margaret Fullerton², who were married in 1789, were cousins. The author desires an answer to the following question:—"Was Jennet Gilmore the name of the mother of Walter Beath¹ and Jennet Beath¹?"

PROCEEDINGS.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1898.

THE fall meeting of the Society was held in the Library Hall, Portland, and was called to order at 2.30 P. M. by the President, Mr. Baxter.

A report of the accessions to the Library since the Annual Meeting was read by the Librarian, Mr. Bryant, who also read some extracts from the early records of Windham, Maine, contributed by Mr. Samuel T. Dole. At the conclusion of the paper, remarks were made by Mr. George F. Talbot upon its various points of interest.

Rev. Dr. Burrage read an abstract from a paper contributed by him on Captain John Wilson and some military matters in Maine during the War of 1812. This paper contains the military orders which Captain Wilson received during the War of 1812, contributed by Mrs. A. W. Pendleton, of Topsham, daughter of Captain Wilson.

Mr. George F. Talbot read abstracts from his historical address on Washington Academy of East Machias, delivered at its centennial anniversary in 1892.

Mr. Talbot's paper called forth extended remarks of appreciation of the work accomplished by Washington Academy, from Professor Henry L. Chapman and Rev. Dr. Asa Dalton.

At the adjournment of the afternoon session an informal reception was extended to the venerable Hon. James W. Bradbury, of Augusta, who was present throughout the meeting.

At the evening session Mr. Nathan Goold read a paper on Colonel Jonathan Mitchell's Cumberland County Militia Regiment in the Bagaduce Expedition of 1779.

Mr. J. H. Drummond presented for the Archives of the Society a genealogical paper containing some further facts concerning the Rogers families of Georgetown.

Adjourned.

THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

Will be issued in January, April, July and October. Each number will contain an attractive and valuable amount of historical matter, Proceedings, Historical Memoranda and other miscellaneous material.

It is under the superintendence of Rev. H. S. Burrage, Rev. Henry O. Thayer and H. W. Bryant, as editing and publishing committee.

The continuation of the publication is guaranteed by the strength in membership of the Society; but as it is expected that there will be a large class of general readers who can be interested in these researches, it is considered desirable to invite the coöperation of that class in carrying forward this good work.

The terms of the quarterly are **Three Dollars** per year payable in advance, which includes postage. Remittances may be made by money order, registered letter, check, or in money at the sender's risk, payable to The Thurston Print, Portland.

Historical articles, notes, queries and answers, are solicited for publication, and should be addressed to H. W. Bryant, Secretary Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine.

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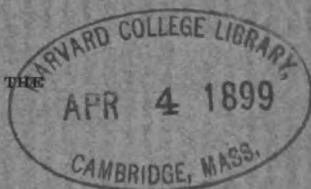
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COLLECTIONS

AND

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE



MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY



Antiquitatis Monumenta Colligere

APRIL, 1899

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Editing and Publishing Staff.

REV. H. S. BURRAGE,
REV. HENRY O. THAYER,
H. W. BRYANT.

ENTERED AT THE POST OFFICE AT PORTLAND, MAINE, AS SECOND CLASS MATTER.



Wm Ladd,



CAPTAIN WILLIAM LADD,

THE APOSTLE OF PEACE.

BY JOHN WITHAM PENNEY.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 24, 1898.

THE first comprehensive plan for organized effort for the promotion of peace in this country, and perhaps in the world, was promulgated by Doctor Benjamin Rush, in about 1790, while we were engaged in a frontier war with the Indians. In sentiment and scope his plan is not very much unlike the constitution of the American Peace Society of to-day. It is true that William Penn, the great Quaker peace-maker, in 1693-94, in a season of almost universal war, published in London, England, a plea for eternal peace among the nations, which he calls, "An Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe, by the establishment of an European Dyet, Parliament, or Estates." Dr. Rush's scheme, however, has the merit of more detail and is rather a plan than an essay.

Doctor Rush was born in Pennsylvania in 1745 and died in 1813. At the age of about fifteen he was graduated at Princeton College, and early in life became eminent as a physician. Later in life he was honored for his medical works, and greatly esteemed for his wide philanthropies. He was an ardent patriot and took an active part in the Revolution; was a member of the Congress of 1776, "the time that tried

men's souls"; was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and served in the Revolutionary war as surgeon-general and physician-general. At the time of his death he was serving as treasurer of the United States mint at Philadelphia.

Doctor Rush's plan anticipated the formation of peace societies in this country and Europe by about twenty-five years, and of a national (the American Peace Society) by thirty-eight years. The Massachusetts Peace Society was organized December 26, 1815, being the first in the United States. This was followed by the Maine Society, organized January 31, 1817.

The following is an abstract of Dr. Rush's plan :—

Art. 1st. Let a Secretary of the Peace be appointed to preside at this office, who shall be perfectly free from all the present absurd and vulgar European prejudices on the subject of government: Let him be a genuine republican and a sincere Christian, for the principles of republicanism and Christianity are no less friendly to universal and perpetual peace than they are to universal and equal liberty.

Art. 2nd. Provides for the maintenance of free schools and the principles of the Christian religion, for it belongs to this religion exclusively to teach us, not only to cultivate peace with all men, but to forgive, nay more, to love our enemies.

Art. 3rd. Provides for the free distribution of the Bible at the public expense.

Art. 4th. Let the following sentence be inscribed, in letters of gold, over the doors of every State and Court house in the United States: "The Son of Man came not into the world to destroy men's lives, but to save them."

Art. 5th. Provides for the repeal of sanguinary laws.

Art. 6th. To subdue the passion of war, which education, added to human depravity, have made universal; a familiarity with

the instruments of death, as well as all military shows, should be carefully avoided. For which reason, military laws should everywhere be repealed, and military dresses and military titles should be laid aside. Reviews tend to lessen the horrors of battle, by connecting them with the charms of order: Militia laws generate idleness and vice and thereby produce the wars they are said to prevent. Military dresses fascinate the minds of young men and lead them from useful and serious professions; were there no uniforms there would probably be no armies. Lastly, militia titles feed vanity and keep up ideas in the mind, which lessen a sense of the follies and miseries of war.

Art. 7th. In the last place; let a large room, adjoining the federal hall, be appropriated for transacting the business and preserving all the records of this office. Over the door of this room let there be a sign, on which the figure of a lamb, a dove, and an olive branch should be painted, together with the following inscription, in letters of gold: "Peace on Earth—Good Will to Men. Ah, why will men forget that they are brethren?" This article also provides for ornamenting this room with appropriate emblems and pictures, and the performance of "Odes and Anthems in praise of the blessings of peace."

In order the more deeply to affect the minds of the citizens of the United States with the blessings of peace, by contrasting them with the evils of war, let the following inscriptions be painted on the sign which is placed over the door of the war office:—

1. An office for butchering the human species.
2. A widow and orphan making office.
3. A broken bone making office.
4. A wooden leg making office.
5. An office for creating private and public vices.
6. An office for creating public debt.
7. An office for creating speculators, stock jobbers and bankrupts.
8. An office for creating famine.
9. An office for creating political diseases.
10. An office for creating poverty and the destruction of liberty and National happiness.

In the lobby of this office let there be painted representations of all the common military instruments of death ; also human skulls, broken bones, unburied and putrefying dead bodies, hospitals crowded with sick and wounded soldiers, villages on fire, mothers in besieged towns, eating the flesh of their children, ships sinking in the ocean, rivers dyed with blood, and extensive plains without tree or fence, or any other object but the ruins of deserted farm houses. Above all this group of woful figures, let the following words be inserted in red characters, to represent human blood : —

National Glory.

Thus from the fertile brain of Doctor Rush emanated the pioneer scheme for the promotion and dissemination of the principles of a perpetual peace. He did not live to see the establishment of his scheme or the man who in the fullest sense could be called his successor. Forty years had passed when, in 1819, Captain William Ladd stood by the death-bed of Doctor Appleton of Bowdoin College, where, says Elihu Burritt, " It may have been the first time that he had ever heard of such societies." Mr. Burritt also says : " The first address that seemed to introduce him to the public as a speaker of great force was delivered in Portland, in 1824, before the Peace Society of Maine."

William Ladd was of a family for generations prominent. He was born in Exeter, New Hampshire, May 10, 1778, and died in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, April 9, 1841. He was the oldest son of Eliphalet Ladd, an eminent merchant, who removed to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, about 1795, and died there in 1806.

William Ladd was graduated from Harvard University in 1797, at the age of nineteen years, and received

his degree of A. B. Instead of entering the medical profession, as designed by his parents, he went to sea as a common sailor in one of his father's vessels. At the age of twenty he sailed from Portsmouth as commander of one of the largest ships that had ever sailed from that port, and soon became one of the most highly esteemed sea captains of New England. Amassing a fortune, he abandoned the sea in a few years and settled in Savannah, Georgia, as a merchant, but soon removed to Florida, where he engaged in the cultivation of cotton, employing both free and slave labor, with some crude emancipation scheme in view for the abolition of slavery.

His scheme, tinctured with the inconsistency of Whitefield's "Orphan Asylum"—a charity supported by slave labor—soon fell through, and a large portion of his fortune with it. Then, upon the death of his father in 1806, he returned to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and again trod the quarter-deck, visiting many foreign lands, the war of 1812 bringing his seafaring life to a close. It was on one of his voyages to England, when at the age of twenty-one, he was united in marriage with Sophia Ann Augusta Stidolph, of London. This marriage, like many another, has its romance, all the more bewitching because of the veil of secrecy that has let only now and then a vague hint escape. She was a lady far below him in mental endowment, and in those excellencies of mind and soul that distinguish the patrician in character from the plebeian. But she was always honored as his wife, and treated with the utmost respect and kindness,

accompanying him in all his voyages at sea, where she once saved the vessel and cargo by crying out, as they were being boarded by pirates, "Yellow fever, yellow fever; the captain's sick with yellow fever." This circumstance, it is said, she once used with effect as an illustration in a lyceum argument at Minot, on the affirmative side of the question, "Is it ever justifiable to lie?" She died at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, December 29, 1855, aged seventy-five. They had no children.

The Cumberland County Registry of Deeds shows that Captain William Ladd bought, in 1813, of James Jewett of New Durham, New Hampshire, what was called the "New Farm" in the town of Minot, Maine, for which he paid seven thousand, seven hundred and fifty dollars. This seems to be a round sum for a farm at the time that a hostile British fleet stood in the offing of Portland harbor, and Munjoy Hill was covered by the state militia, and especially as said farm was in "a poor little backwoods town," as Captain Ladd says of Minot in one of his letters written in 1828. This so called "New Farm" is located on the plateau of one of those majestic hills, that fall little short of the dignity of mountains, known as "Center Hill," in Center Minot, of which there are many in what once comprised Bakerstown, of which Minot was a part until 1802. •

The locality has many interesting historical associations. Here, on this hill, lived and died Moses Emery, and here in the old churchyard reposes his dust and that of his wife, they being among the few first settlers

of Bakerstown whose places of burial are known. He was the first settler of what is now Minot Corner, the author of the name, "Poland," for the town of Poland at its incorporation in 1795, and the furnisher of a large portion of the data from which Captain Ladd compiled the *Annals of Bakerstown, Poland and Minot*, for the Maine Historical Society, found in volume second of its publications. Near here was organized the first church of Bakerstown in 1791. The first minister, Rev. Jonathan Scott, settled near here in 1793, and the first church was erected in 1794. Here, on this picturesque hill and its environs, settled many of the representative men of ancient Bakerstown, sturdy, religious and determined. Minot's first town house stood on the so called "New Farm," near the Jewett homestead.

Captain Ladd had serious thought of entering the navy, his long sea service having done much in qualifying him for such a position. But the great turning-point in his life was his choosing the quiet and uneventful vocation of a farmer, and his settlement in the rural and sparsely settled town of Minot. Here, surrounded by the quiet and peaceful beauties of nature, and scenes bucolic, he was led by a peculiar train of providential circumstances into a path that led directly adverse to that which he was pursuing, and which ultimately led him to the high and honorable distinction of world-wide recognition as a philanthropist, and the American Apostle of Peace.

Here amid the grandeur of hill and dale, mountain and lake, he engaged with all the ardor of an

enthusiastic agriculturist in improving, enlarging and beautifying his Minot summer home. He usually passed the winter in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, which, in time, to use his own words, became "his paradise." He added farm after farm until he became the owner of more than six hundred acres. Six large barns were needed to hold his immense crops of hay and grain and his numerous herds of cattle, horses and sheep, which were all of the choicest breeds. His extensive operations required a large employment of labor, over which, as overseer, presided, outside of the house, Reuben Merrow; while within, Miss Ann Tappan held the scepter of domestic affairs, reproducing into the ear trumpet of Mrs. Ladd the sum and substance of what was uttered inside the walls of the mansion.

The house unfinished when it came into his possession, he enlarged and fitted up to correspond with his style of living in all its amplitude of embellishment, with now and then a nautical reminiscence, such as the cabin stairs that reached from the attic to the observatory on the roof, where, with his glass he could see the masts of the shipping in the harbor of Portland, observe his workmen on a distant part of his farm, and the imitation of a rope, running around in the finish of the ceiling of the large parlor, wherein was a sideboard, supplied from the securely locked wine cellar in the basement, whose generous stock of choice old Burgundy, says Captain Ladd, "I sipped, and my ministerial friends sipped." That he was an entertainer of great hospitality there is ample proof. The

view from his library, where the most of his literary work was done, is a magnificent one, stretching away west and north in illimitable landscape of hill and dale to the Alps of New England, the Presidential Range. Order, system and adornment were everywhere visible on the estate of the opulent retired sea-captain-farmer of Center Minot. The grounds about his mansion were laid out with taste and elegant design. On the northwest side ran an avenue, otherwise called the "Bridle road," leading to the Jewett farmhouse, which was beautified on each side its entire length, by rows of Lombardy poplars. The vegetable and berry garden adjacent was not without its share of embellishment of well-ordered walks and rows of plum and cherry trees, but it fell far short of the attractiveness of the flower garden on the southeast side, where flourished in great profusion and variety flowers, vines and shrubbery, delighting the senses with their beauty and perfume.

In this garden, shadowed by a large horse chestnut tree, stood an elegant summer house, a creation of his own design, and until within a year, the almost solitary fanciful relic of its resourceful builder.

Trees of every native variety embowered the well-graveled walks and lent their grateful shade. Faced walls along the highway bespoke the substantial character of the whole. It is probable that in 1820 there was not another country estate in the county of Cumberland its equal in size and elegance, or that could show greater evidences of intelligent and scientific husbandry.

He was the inventor of several agricultural appliances, the first power-threshing machine seen in the town being one of them, and the initial of a threshing-machine manufactory established at Minot Corner, where he was interested in mercantile pursuits, the manufacture of linseed oil, and other industries. His public spirit is made prominent by the interest he manifested in the organization of the first shoe manufacturing company of Minot, now West Auburn, in which he appears as a stockholder. He was the power behind the throne that brought about its establishment and incorporation on January 2, 1835. Its officers were, Asaph Howard, president; Eliphalet Packard, clerk and treasurer; Charles Briggs and Nehemiah Packard, directors. Foremost in promoting the moral and intellectual interests of his adopted town, he engaged, with all the ardor of his exuberant nature, in church work, as a Sunday-school teacher; in temperance as a lecturer; and in the lyceum as a debater. His sympathies for the unfortunate and distressed were large, and his benefactions to the poor were generous and timely. He was fertile in expedients to help the poor, to make their lot cheerful, to incite them to habits of thrift and industry. Emphatically, as says a contemporary, "There never was such another man in Minot."

It is true that when in 1814 Captain Ladd first settled in Minot, and for a few years following, he trod his broad acres with a lordly step, and with the absolute authority that pertains to the quarter-deck, leading the casual observer to infer that he was arbitrary,

domineering, coercive and dictatorial — a brusque, wealthy, retired sea captain, whose path it was not safe to cross, and whose majestic physique commanded profound respect. His ship's cutlass and pistols had the same significance that pertains to such instruments of blood letting, and by a strange irony his sword remains to-day a prized relic of the great Apostle of Peace.

But by all contemporary testimony he was one of the most gentle of men. Of imperturbable temper, a gentleman always, generous, neighborly, benignant and overflowing with humor, the spirit and life of the community in which he moved, the leader of every good word and work. His learning, travels and fluency of speech qualified him for an entertaining lecturer. He gave the first Fourth of July oration probably delivered in the town, and frequent lectures on temperance and kindred topics. In 1816 he was elected by the Federalists a representative to the General Court, and also chosen a delegate to attend the convention at Brunswick to draft a constitution for Maine, if the requisite five-ninths of votes were cast for a separation.

In 1817 he united with the Second Congregational church of Center Minot, whose house of worship stood just across the street from his own. He was at once chosen clerk, entering his own admission on the records, July 20, 1817. He served as clerk for about six years, or until the union of the First and Second churches and the settlement of the Rev. Elijah Jones in 1823.

There seems to have been an "apple of discord," "an irrepressible conflict," between Mr. Ladd and his first pastor, Rev. William Pidgin, and through his instrumentality the pastorate was dissolved. Mr Pidgin was installed over the Second church in 1811, and dismissed in 1819 "without a recommendation." Where a principle was involved Mr. Ladd was as immovable as a mountain, and it appears that something of this character was the occasion of the "root of bitterness" that sprang up between them. Mr. Pidgin has left some evidence indicating that there was no reconciliation.

There is no record or tradition known to the writer of any other case of contention between Mr. Ladd and any other person. On the contrary, there are many notices, in his memoirs by Mr. John Hemmenway, of his forbearance and gentleness towards those of whom he had justly a cause of complaint. Between him and Rev. Mr. Jones there sprang up a most intimate and cordial friendship, that lasted during life.

Mr. Jones declined a settlement on a three-hundred-dollar salary, without a parsonage. Captain Ladd made the settlement possible by furnishing a parsonage (the Jewett house) free, "with other privileges." This he did for a number of years, or until Mr. Jones built a parsonage house for himself.

Captain Ladd seems to have received his first serious religious convictions about a year before uniting with the church, and they came by way of a rebuke. Being in Portland in the tin shop of Nathaniel Cross, a deacon of the Third Congregational church, he offered

that gentleman a bank bill in payment for some article, and was immediately informed that it was worthless, as the bank had failed. "Damn the bank," was the probable retort of Captain Ladd. The Deacon remembering, perhaps, the proverb of Solomon, "Reprove a wise man and he will love thee," courageously let fly: "Remember, you will have to give an account of every idle word you speak." This was an opportune shaft that went straight to his heart, leading ultimately to his conversion, and a life-long friendship between the rebuked and the rebuker.

His attitude toward the Christian religion up to this time, though always respectful, was only nominal. Now a marked change was observed and thenceforward his life was an exemplification of applied christianity, growing brighter, more expansive and intelligent, exhibiting a broader comprehension of the great truth contained in the second commandment, and a world embracing philanthropy, whose high ideal was a universal peace among all nations of the earth. To this end, in later life, all the exuberant energies of his great soul were made subservient. His time, talents, wealth and physical powers were devoted without reservation to this one absorbing object.

In 1837, he obtained a license to preach, the better to reach the public ear. Was he called to preach a sermon, lecture on temperance, slavery, or address a convention, his sermon, whatever the text might be, lecture or address, was sure to end in an impassioned peroration on the horrors of war and the blessings of universal peace.

Indicative of the thoroughness of Captain Ladd's conversion is the promptness with which he discarded those social habits of the times, which were not only allowable in the best of society, but also in the sacred desk. He was not a man to halt between two opinions. When convinced of a wrong course of conduct, it was abandoned forever, with such alacrity and promptness, that the moral force of the act was not lost.

Mention has been made of his wine cellar, with its generous stock of old Burgundy and Tokay. Its end was as sudden as unexpected. He was giving a temperance lecture in Minot, and as he says, "Made the best temperance speech of my life, used up all the objections of opponents, and sat down with the thought that the appeal I had made could not be withstood." Suddenly up jumped a little blear-eyed, wizen-faced man, with gin blossoms on his nose, and squeaked out: "Ha, Squire, if you will give us some of your good wine we won't drink any more nasty rum and gin." This was an unexpected shot, an assault upon an unfortified side of the pseudo, self-sufficient, temperance lecturer, that brought him down from his high pedestal of temperance reform for his neighbors, abashed and vanquished. To him now, for the first time, his inconsistent course was revealed. Springing to his feet, with real nobility of soul, he confessed his fault in tears, with all the pathos and artlessness of a child, and the handicap wine cellar was abandoned forever. Soon after, one of his hired men was reported drunk on hard cider, and, as he says, "On my cider, too." With characteristic promptness, he

ordered his cider mill converted into oven wood. The fragrant Havana and the quid were eschewed and he became a clean temperance man, a teetotaler in principle and practise. This self-denial, like bread cast upon the waters, after many days came back to him a hundred-fold in the form of a letter written by an educated Hawaiian, who had been redeemed from his low estate through the agency of the money formerly spent for wine and tobacco, now devoted to this purpose. A gentleman of Auburn, Maine, now living, recites the incident of his reading the letter in a public meeting, with tears of joy flowing from his eyes.

Of the many incidents connected with his farm life, illustrative of his character, one may be permitted here. A young black man, who had formerly been in his employ, came to his home sick, poor and disconsolate, and as it proved, to die. Mr. Ladd took him in and ministered to him in his own home, comforting him in his anxiety about payment, and soothing his dying hours with the assurance that he should not be buried by the roadside, as he expected, but with the white folks in the cemetery. And in the sunset corner of the old churchyard, unmarked save by the gentle hand of nature, "with blossom'd furze unprofitably gay," brier and wild rose, may be seen the lowly grave of the son of Ham, Richard Dawes, in whose funeral train as chief mourners were Captain Ladd and his wife.

The war spirit of the old world was transported to the new, and before the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay had fairly laid the corner-stone of a democracy

or built the first meeting-house, they received an invoice of the implements of war, "Ordnance, muskets and powder, a present from Godly people in England, who began now to apprehend a special hand of God in raising this plantation."

For more than two centuries—from the founding of Jamestown—our country, excepting short intervals of peace, stood with drawn sword, either in defensive or offensive war of some kind, and war's handmaids, famine, pestilence and fire, have ever been present as the grim background of the picture of desolation and destruction.

Our second war with the mother country was practically barren of results to both nations; says Ridpath, "The only significance of the treaty of Ghent, was that Great Britain and the United States, having been at war, agreed to be at peace. Not one of the distinctive issues, to decide which the war had been undertaken, was settled or even mentioned."

From this war to the war with Mexico, "The most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation," says Gen. Grant, occurred the longest interval of peace, from 1815 to 1846, in the history of the nation up to the latter date. Both countries were eager for the peace of Ghent. England received the news of the treaty with the utmost satisfaction. In the United States it was received with a delight bordering on madness. Before the terms of settlement could be known, the people broke forth in universal jubilee, and Federalists and Democrats embraced each other in the ardor of their joy that the war was over.

The "era of good feeling" followed. Many states, including Maine, were admitted to the Union, and the grand "Monroe Doctrine" was evolved. Washington Irving compelled the old world to acknowledge that we had a literature. The arts and sciences flourished. The telegraph was invented and steamships began to cross the Atlantic. It was an epoch of peace and prosperity. Napoleon's star had set at Waterloo and the old world even had rest from war. Probably at no former period of our national existence was the sentiment of peace so prevalent. The ground as never before was fallow for the seed of peace.

The hour was come, and with it rose the man
Ordained of God, and fashioned for the hour.

It appears that Captain Ladd was for several years deeply pondering the principles of a universal peace among all nations, before he finally committed himself to its advocacy. Says Rev. Thomas C. Upham, D. D.: "Walking with him in one of his beautiful fields, he pointed to a cluster of trees at a little distance, and said, 'It was beneath those trees that I solemnly consecrated myself in prayer to this one work of impressing upon the minds of men the principles of peace.'" Continuing, Dr. Upham says: "He fully believed that God had inspired within him that central idea, around which the labors of his life turned; and those who knew him intimately could hardly fail to be impressed with a similar conviction. He was the means, under God, of giving an impulse to the cause of peace, which is felt throughout the world." It was his conception of putting an end to war throughout the world

by means of a Congress of Nations, which should have power to establish an international code, and also a high court of nations, which was to be a permanent body, like our Supreme Court, and to hold periodical or occasional sessions for the adjudication of all questions between two or more nations, that could not be settled by ordinary negotiation. And his scheme, with perhaps some slight modification, stands before the world to-day as the best thought of the century for bringing about a perpetual and universal peace among all nations. Not only in the United States was he recognized as the foremost advocate of peace, but his scheme and methods were adopted by the great peace congresses of England, France and Germany, and thus, by common consent, he became known specifically as the "Apostle of Peace."

Recognizing that "the pen is mightier than the sword," he at the commencement of his work employed this instrumentality with a vigor and persistency that never waned so long as his hand could wield a pen; and there emanated from that little study on "Center Hill," in Minot, a peace literature more comprehensive and voluminous than that of any predecessor, and probably not exceeded since by any other writer. Scattered far and wide in this country and Europe, like the leaves that "were for the healing of the nations," they found a place in the palaces of kings and princes, and in the homes of the rich and the poor. A Minot soldier, during our Civil War, found one of Captain Ladd's essays on peace in a southern home.

In 1824 he finished his first series of thirty-two essays on "Peace and War," which were first published in the *Christian Mirror* at Portland, Maine, and subsequently collected in a volume. The following are some of his numerous publications: *A Solemn Appeal to All Christians in Favor of Peace*; *The Sword, or Christmas Presents*; *Howard and Napoleon Contrasted*; *The French Soldier*; *A Brief Illustration of the Principles of Peace*; *A Dissertation on a Congress of Nations*; *The Hero of Macedon*; *On the Duty of Females to Promote the Cause of Peace*; *The Pulpit Stairs of Rurutu*.

Besides these volumes he wrote many essays and numberless newspaper articles on the subject of peace. But that which will longest endure and perpetuate his memory was his plan for a Congress of Nations, to constitute a permanent international high court for the settlement of disputes. He induced the American Peace Society, which he had been the means of organizing, and of which he was the first president, to offer a prize of one thousand dollars for the best essay on the subject of international peace. About forty dissertations were submitted to a committee, consisting of Joseph Story, William Wirt and John C. Calhoun, who did not agree upon a successful competitor, but advised the publication of the five best essays. A second committee, composed of John Quincy Adams, James Kent and Daniel Webster, failing to agree as to the best essay, the society chose a committee of their own body to select the five best productions for publication, to which Mr. Ladd was instructed to add the

sixth. This resulted in the publication, in 1840, of a large, handsome volume of seven hundred pages, the largest volume on the subject of peace that had ever been published on either side of the Atlantic. It attracted much attention, and was judiciously distributed in this country and among the crowned heads and statesmen of Europe.

Mr. Ladd's essay developed the scheme of a Congress of Nations more perfectly than any of the others, and stands, as has been observed, the best exponent and argument on the subject.

He says : —

My claim to originality in this production rests much on the thought of separating the subject into two distinct parts, viz. :
1st. A Congress of Ambassadors from all those Christian and civilized nations who should choose to send them, for the purpose of settling the principles of international law by compact and agreement, of the nature of a mutual treaty, and also of devising and promoting plans for the preservation of peace, and meliorating the condition of man.

2nd. A Court of Nations, composed of the most able civilians in the world, to arbitrate or judge such cases as should be brought before it, by mutual consent of two or more contending nations ; thus dividing entirely the diplomatic from the judicial functions. I consider the Congress as the legislature, and the Court as the judiciary, in the government of nations, leaving the functions of the executive with public opinion, the Queen of the World. This division, he adds, I have never seen in any essay or plan for a Congress or diet of independent nations, either ancient or modern ; and I believe it will obviate all objections which have been heretofore made to such a plan.

Dr. Edward Everett Hale, in an address delivered at an arbitration conference at Mohonk, New York, in

1895, emphasizes this thought of a permanent court or tribune, and says: "The public opinion of the world would confirm the opinion of that court."

Immediately following the organization of the American Peace Society, in 1828, was begun the publication of the *Harbinger of Peace*, a monthly magazine of twenty-four pages, which was edited by Mr. Ladd for three years in his sanctum at Minot, on "Center Hill," and published in New York. As first president, general agent, and also corresponding secretary of the American Peace Society, he may well call it, "his only very, very, dear beloved daughter," to whose service he gave all the energies of his intensely active life, time, affections, talents, prayers, labors and property. By personal interviews with the President of the United States, and statesmen, he urged upon their attention the consideration of international peace. To the rulers of Europe he wrote with glowing zeal in the advocacy of an universal peace among all nations, and by his indefatigable labors and masterly presentation of the subject of peace, he drew around him a coterie of many of the ablest men of the nation. Such men as Elihu Burritt, William Lloyd Garrison, Rev. Dr. Humphrey, president of Amherst College, Rev. George C. Beckwith, Rev. Thomas C. Upham, D. D., Charles Sumner, and many others, acknowledged him their peer, and sat as disciples at his feet in his lofty conceptions of the principles of a perpetual peace among the nations of the earth.

Mr. Ladd, in forwarding an elegant volume of the *Essays on a Congress of Nations to Queen Victoria*,

addressed a letter to her, in which he alludes to the "Madawaska" incident. The following is an extract:—

May it please your Majesty:—

The American Peace Society, encouraged by the gracious reception which a letter from them to your Majesty's illustrious predecessor and uncle, William the Fourth, met with from him, now venture to approach your Majesty on the same important subject. A Congress of Nations for the settlement of the principles of international law, and the organization of a Court of Nations, to determine all cases which may be brought before it, has been the object of the Peace Society ever since its organization. It is not to be expected that in the compass of a letter the details of the plan can be developed; therefore, the American Peace Society has taken the liberty to present to your Majesty a volume of Prize Essays on this subject.

The peculiar position of Great Britain and the United States, which threatens a war between two of the most enlightened nations of the world, for an inconsiderable portion of wilderness, calls aloud for the examination of a plan calculated to remedy forever such a state of things.

By order of the American Peace Society,
WILLIAM LADD, President.

The Queen's reply, through her Foreign Secretary, was as follows:—

FOREIGN OFFICE, Sept. 3, 1840.

Sir:—

I have laid before the Queen the address to her Majesty, which, on behalf of the American Peace Society, you placed in my hands some time ago: and I am to acquaint you that her Majesty was very graciously pleased to receive the said address, and the volume of Prize Essays which accompanied it.

With reference to the objects of the society, as developed in your letter, and in the Prize Essays, I beg to assure you that her

Majesty has nothing more at heart than the preservation of peace and the promotion of harmony and friendship among nations.

I am sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

PALMERSTON.

WILLIAM LADD, Esq.,

Minot, State of Maine.

Mr. Ladd left the impress of his individuality and untiring zeal in the cause of peace on the hearts of his contemporaries, as is evidenced by the following extracts from letters in the compilation made by Mr. John Hemmenway, his biographer, in 1872. They are but a few of the many tributes to his memory:—

From Rev. Elijah Jones, of Center Minot, Maine:—

As a writer, perhaps no person among us has wielded a more powerful pen. His writings all bear marks of intrinsic excellence. . . . The name of William Ladd will stand in history among the benefactors of our race.

From Hon. William Lowell, West Minot, 1870:—

He spent much of his energies and property in the advocacy of peace, and to avoid the calamities of war, which, if carried out by a Congress of Nations, as he labored to establish, would be the perpetuation of a cause that would rank among the most philanthropic and to him who instituted it an imperishable name.

From Rev. Thomas C. Upham, New York, 1871:—

He was the Philanthropist of the nineteenth century . . .

From Hon. John Neal, Portland, Maine, 1871:—

He was one of the best men I ever knew; honest, faithful and sincere in whatever he did or said. With large views, a subdued enthusiasm, and a generous heart, he was calculated to do great good—and he did it—for mankind and his Master.

From his namesake, Rev. William Ladd Jones, California, 1871:—

His memory is blessed. Among the privileges of my early years, I count it by no means one of the least that I knew William Ladd.

From Rev. Samuel J. May, Syracuse, New York, 1871:—

He was one of the most genial, lively men I ever knew, full of useful information and pertinent anecdotes. . . . He was never daunted by opposition, nor disheartened by indifference under the most discouraging circumstances.

From Rev. Howard Malcolm, D. D., president of the American Peace Society, Philadelphia, 1871:—

My only recollections of him are, his fine personal appearance, his admirable simplicity of manner in his public addresses, and his disinterestedness. He received nothing as pay, worked hard, and wonderfully roused up the public.

From William Lloyd Garrison, Boston, 1871:—

Amiable and winning in social intercourse—hopeful, enthusiastic, indefatigable in the pursuit of his object, . . . I dedicated to him the following Sonnet, which was printed in the first volume of *The Liberator*:—

The conquerors of the earth have had their day—
 Their fame lies weltering in a bloody shroud;
 As Crime and Desolation haste away,
 So fade their glory and their triumphs proud.
 Great Advocate! a fairer wreath is thine,
 Base Envy cannot soil, nor Time destroy;
 Thou art enlisted in a cause divine,
 Which yet shall fill all earth and heaven with joy.

As a lecturer and organizer of peace societies, he was an unwearied and persistent laborer. Possessed of a remarkable personality, a magnetism, subtle as the odor of a flower, and as indescribable, he was a power to be felt. The charm of his utterances held great audiences spellbound and carried them away captive to his fervid eloquence.

No city was too large or town too small for the organization of a peace society, and in his own town of Minot such a society was formed and a list of seventeen subscribers secured to the peace organ of the national society.

His field of operation was mainly in the New England states, New York and Pennsylvania. A Western tour was in contemplation when his further philanthropic labors were suddenly brought to an end by the hand of death, just as he had begun to see some of the fruits of his arduous and unremitting efforts of eighteen years in the cause of peace, and when he thought that the sentiments that had so absorbed his heart were becoming more fully understood and accepted in this, and the nations of Europe.

Returning from an extended lecture tour of intense labor, speaking sitting, or on his knees, when he could not stand on his feet, he reached his winter home at Portsmouth in the evening of April 9, 1841, and almost immediately expired, at the age of sixty-three years.

The moss-embellished marble, erected by the society he founded, in the old south cemetery, of that "old town by the sea," Portsmouth, New Hampshire, marks the resting-place of Captain William Ladd, Philanthropist and Apostle of Peace. His "very, very dear daughter," the American Peace Society is still alive, vigorous and active.

The war sentiment is noisy, demonstrative, persistent. It demands more war ships, more fortifications, more guns, more soldiers. But never since man began

to inhabit the earth has there been so world embracing a philanthropy as now, so much intelligent Christianity and clear conception of the brotherhood of man.

THE ROGERS FAMILY OF GEORGETOWN. NO. II.

BY HON. JOSIAH H. DRUMMOND.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, October 27, 1898.

IN my former article,¹ I said:—

From all the evidence, I conclude that this Rogers family “came over” in 1720 or 1721, probably with the Crombies and Cochranes, and settled at Londonderry, New Hampshire; that some of the children went to other places in quest of employment; and the old people moved to Georgetown in 1737, with the most of their family.

I based my conclusions as to the time when they went to Georgetown, upon the town records, which began in 1738. I was not then aware that there had been a town of “Georgetown on Arrowsick Island,” that had had a record which had been lost. The existence of such a record before 1738 destroys the presumption upon which my conclusion was based.

Further than that, Rev. Henry O. Thayer has kindly called my attention to certain deeds and court records, which show that this family came to Georgetown (as it was in 1738) soon after their arrival in this country in 1720 or 1721.

Royall and Tyler, April 2, 1720, sold to “*Thomas Rogers* of Arrowsick Island, merchant,” two hundred

¹ *Maine Historical Society Quarterly*, Volume VIII, pp. 96 and 123.

and fifty acres of land out of a tract bounded southerly on land of Sylvanus Davis. York Deeds, Book X, p. 43.

On April 4, 1722, one Ayers, a deputy sheriff, complained to the court at York, that he had been threatened and abused, while in the performance of his official duty, by eight persons named, among whom were *Samuel Rogers* and *William Rogers*.

York C. C. P. Records, Volume VII, p. 45.

And in July following, "*Samuel Rogers*, formerly a resident of Georgetown," with another, was fined ten shillings for threatening a deputy sheriff. Ibid, p. 52.

It is very certain that this Thomas and this Samuel were not sons of George¹, for they were too old. I have found no allusion to Samuel in any later record pertaining to Georgetown; and, except the record of the deed by which he conveyed his real estate in 1726, the same is true of Thomas. Whether either of them was a brother of George¹ is a matter of pure conjecture, unless the fact that George² and William² each named a son Thomas may be evidence. Whatever may be the fact as to relationship, they disappeared from Georgetown.

By deed dated November 24, 1726, "Thomas Rodgers of George Town, merch^t," conveyed to "George Rodgers of George Town, farmer," the two hundred and fifty acres of land "situate in Kennebec," which he (Thomas) bought of Royall and Tyler on the second day of April, 1720. This deed is signed, "Tho^s Rodgers," is witnessed by Patrick Rodgers and Samuel M Cobb (quite certainly Samuel McCobb),

and was recorded June 27, 1729. York Deeds, Book XIII, p. 64.

The history of this lot of land has much interest. It was owned by John Parker, who purchased on the west side of the Kennebec.

On January 30, 1684-85, John Parker of Kennebec, fisherman, with the consent of Margaret, his wife, in consideration of love and affection for Sarah, his daughter, "now wife of William Baker of sd Kennebec, House Carpenter," and for her dowry, conveyed to said William and Sarah a tract of land, described as already laid out, and bounded southerly by land of Capt. Sylvanus Davis. York Deeds, Book IV, p. 73.

On May 20, 1719, John Baker conveyed one-half of the same land by precisely the same description to Royall and Tyler to be divided and they to have "which halfe they please." Book IX, p. 190.

No deed is found from William and Sarah Baker to John Baker; and he must have obtained his title as their heir.

Royall and Tyler conveyed, April 2, 1720, to "Thomas Rodgers of Arrowsick Island, merchant," two hundred and fifty acres out of their half of this land, as they "shall agree, or to be set out by indifferent persons." Book X, p. 43.

Then in 1726, Thomas Rodgers conveyed it to George Rodgers.

In August, 1727, *George Rogers*, with another, was arrested and held to answer for not appearing to testify on S. Denny's presentment.

York C. C. P. Records, Vol. VII, p. 137.

George Rogers and *William Rogers*, farmers, "of a place called Augusta," now Phipsburg, are among the grantees from Arthur Noble, June 10, 1736, of half an acre of land at Pleasant Cove for a meeting-house, "for none other use or uses but for the public worship of God, according to the form of dissapline used in the Church of Scotland."

William Rogers was appointed, November 3, 1737, on a committee to lay out roads.

These records settle conclusively that *George Rogers*¹ was living in Georgetown as early as 1726; and as *William*² was there in 1722, and *Patrick*² as early as that, we must conclude that the family came there about 1721.

As *William*² married his wife in Londonderry about 1728, the presumption is that there was an acquaintance between his family and the Londonderry families; other marriages indicate the same thing: all the circumstances point to the conclusion that *George Rogers*¹ and his family came with the Scotch-Irish that settled in Londonderry; and that instead of remaining there some years, as I concluded when I wrote my former article, they very soon came to Georgetown, now Phipsburg, and settled there.

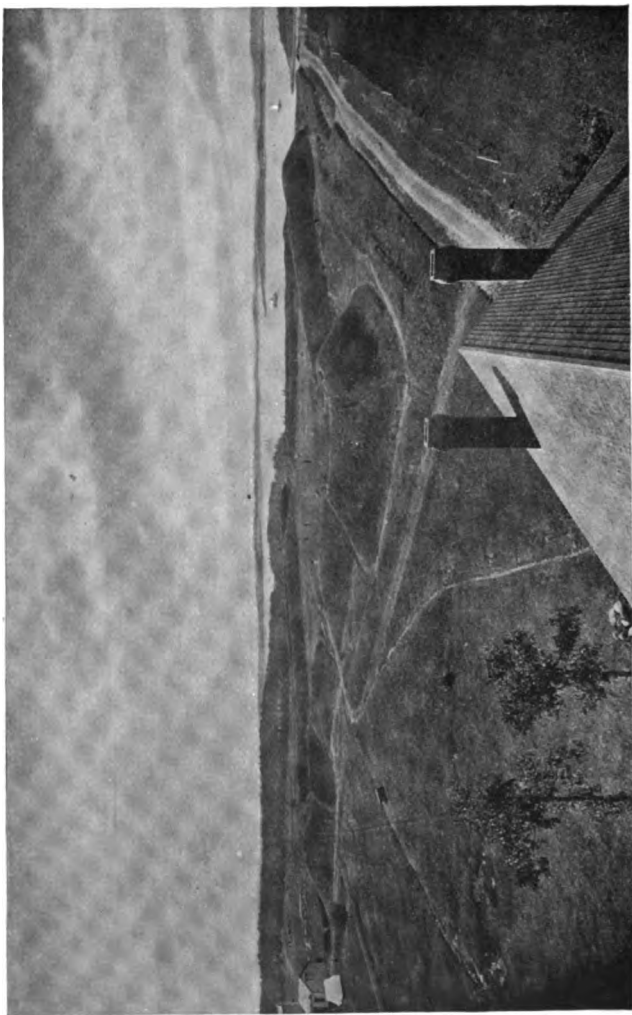
It would also follow that the first four children of *William*² (*George*¹) were not born in Londonderry as I stated was probably the case, but, with the others, were born in Georgetown.

I notice that exception has lately been taken to the application of the term "Scotch-Irish" to these people, with the claim that this term is a "misnomer." I do

not agree; the term has been too long in use and ought not to be misunderstood. When we say that a man is "English," we mean that he was born in England. The people, to whom the term in question has been applied, were born in Ireland, and would be naturally called Irish: but they were of Scotch parentage or ancestry and so to distinguish them from those of Irish ancestry, they were early called "Scotch-Irish." Rev. Robert Rutherford received the degree of Master of Arts in Glasgow University, March 9, 1708; in the record he is styled a "Scoto-Irishman." The "Scotch-Irish Society of America," which has already published eight volumes of its annual proceedings, is composed of members from all over the country, and no one of them has put himself on record as objecting to the name. Its membership is limited by its constitution to descendants of the "Scotch-Irish," and I have never heard of a case in which there was any uncertainty as to the meaning of the term. I cannot, therefore, modify my former article in this respect.

A log book has recently been discovered, containing a brief autobiography of *John Rogers*³, *William*² (*George*¹). He states that his mother, Dinah (Rankin) Rogers, died in childbirth, the child dying also; he says, also, that his step-mother had three children, two of which died in infancy.

In other respects his account of the family agrees with that which I have given.



FORT GEORGE.

From Wheeler's "Castine Past and Present," Showing Its Condition To-day.

COLONEL JONATHAN MITCHELL'S
CUMBERLAND COUNTY REGIMENT.

BAGADUCE EXPEDITION, 1779.

BY NATHAN GOOLD.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, October 27, 1898.

[Concluded.]

WILLIAM MOODY of Falmouth, kept a journal during his service in Col. Mitchell's regiment, recording each day the events that came under his observation. It is worthy of preservation. Mr. Moody was the drummer of Capt. Peter Warren's company. He had served in Col. Edmund Phinney's 31st regiment of foot at Cambridge in 1775, in Capt. Abner Lowell's Matross company at Falmouth Neck in 1776, 1777 and 1778, and in Capt. Joseph Pride's company in Col. Joseph Prime's regiment at the same place in 1780. He was in the service in the early part of 1781, and went on a cruise in the privateer Fox, in April of that year.

Mr. Moody was the son of Enoch and Ann (Weeks) Moody of Falmouth, and was born February 16, 1756. He married Mary Young, in 1783, and had children, Enoch, William and Nancy. He married for his second wife, Rachel Riggs in 1804, and had a son, Edward. He died February 16, 1821, aged sixty-five years. His father, Enoch Moody, was the chairman of the committee at Falmouth in the Revolution, and his four brothers, Enoch, Jr., Benjamin, Nathaniel and Lemuel, were Revolutionary soldiers.

William Moody was a thoughtful and observing man to whom we should feel grateful for chronicling his experiences for our instruction.

WILLIAM MOODY'S JOURNAL.

1779.

July 2. A detachment of 40 men to go to Major Bag a Duce.

3. Turned out as a Volunteer to go to Penobscot with Capt. Peter Warren.

9. Turned out in the morning for Exercise.

10. Our Regt. paraded and arranged Capt. Warren's the first company.

14. The transports with 2 brigs & a sloop, a prize with 10 guns, arrived here to carry the Troops. Drew one day's allowance.

15. Drew 4 days' allowance.

16. Our Company embarked on board the sloop [Centurion] and hauled off, Capt. [William] McLellan master. [He was a son of Brice McLellan of Falmouth Neck.]

17. On shore to draw allowance and took it. Stayed all night.

19. I went on board of the Sloop Centurion [80½ tons] at sunrise. Embarked for Majibigwaduce. Weighed anchor at 8 o'clock. Capt. [Abner] Lowell fired an 18 pounder for all hands on board. Arrived at Townsend [Boothbay] at 6 o'clock.

20. Last night a soldier fired a gun and blowed his hand off, died. The Hampden a 20 gun ship arrived.

21. Went ashore to prayers. Parson [Thomas] Lancaster prayed and we sang. Between 30 & 40 sail of armed ships & Transports at Townsend.

22. Regt. paraded ashore and Gen. [Solomon] Lovell reviewed them.

24. Admiral [Dudley Saltonstall] fired a gun about 4 o'clock, the whole fleet under sail. Came to anchor at 9 o'clock at night under the Upper Fox Island.

25. Made sail for Bagaduce at 8 o'clock. Came to anchor in Penobscot. The enemy fired from the shore with muskets. The ships ran in by the Forts and fired many broadsides. Seven of our

boats that went to land got almost ashore. The enemy lay in ambush and fired upon us and killed an indian.

26. Our vessels warped in. We embarked our boats at 12 o'clock. Kept off and on till sunset. [It is stated that the time was about 6 o'clock.] Come under the Admiral's [Frigate Warren] stern, then put off for an island [Nautilus] within point blank shot of the enemy's fort. As our boats were going across, the enemy sunk one boat by a (chain) shot and Major Daniel Littlefield [of Wells] and two others were drowned.

28. At day-break had orders to land under cover of our guns on board the shipping. Commenced landing half an hour before sunrise. The enemy lay in ambush and firing upon us killed 1 capt. [probably Major Welch] of marines belonging to the Admiral and several others. We took 3 prisoners and killed 7. Have possession of the ground and soon hope to have all their works.¹ 2 men wounded, one lost his leg and the other his arm. Went over to the Island after [Samuel] Knight. He was sick there.

29. The enemy throw shells. Loss and wounded in the attack [of 28th] about 30. Lost 1 man this afternoon.

30. Hauled up on the hill [over the high bluff where they landed] 2 eighteen pounders. A deserter came in from the enemy last night; he says the British force does not exceed 350. [This was not one half of the number of their men.]

31. Two seamen wounded with a shell who belongs to the Active. One of the marines belonging to the [frigate] Warren deserted to the enemy. Last night went out with a detachment of 88 men. Marched on to the parade at sunset and kept under arms till 2 o'clock [A. M.]. We then attacked one of the enemy's redoubts which we carried with the loss of a few men. We killed several of the enemy and took 18 prisoners. Capt. [Nathan] Merrill of our Regt. took one prisoner, a corporal of the enemy.

¹ The above was the gallant assault made by the four hundred marines and militia over the precipitous bank at "Trask's Rock," and which was over in twenty minutes. The large granite boulder on the shore, now called "Trask's Rock," was named for a fifer-boy named Israel Trask, who took shelter behind it, playing his fife while his comrades made the ascent. It was said that he did not lose a note of the tune he was playing during the whole time. Capt. John Hinkley of Georgetown, of Col. McCobb's regiment, was killed while standing on this rock urging on the men.

Sunday, Aug. 1. Major [Samuel] Sawyer of the York [county] forces mortally wounded. He died this day.

2. Mr. Wheeler Riggs [of Falmouth Neck] was killed this afternoon. One of the train badly wounded. Buried Mr. Riggs very decently. [He was stooping over fixing a gun carriage when a cannon ball hit a tree near, glanced and struck him on the back of his neck. He was the only Falmouth soldier killed in the expedition.]

3. Gen. Lovell sent a flag to the lines to enquire after a Lieut. of Marines belonging to the Vengeance who was missing after the battle of Sunday last [Aug. 1]. The answer returned was that the Lieut. was wounded in battle and died yesterday.

Wed. 4. Three of Capt. [Nehemiah] Curtis' men deserted. William Harper had a musket ball shot through his coat by the enemy while on picket guard.

5. An indian killed by the enemy, one taken prisoner. Capt. [David] Bradish from Falmouth to see us.

6. Capt. Bradish and his crew left us. [He was sent to Boston.]

7. Smart cannonading. Marched down towards the fort of the enemy about three o'clock. A party of about 100 sallied out. Gen. Lovell ordered a retreat to draw them out, but they immediately ran back to their entrenchment. One man belonging to Col. [Samuel] McCobb's Regt. wounded.

Monday, 9. Attempted to land on Hyannis Point, opposite the enemy, but were prevented by the annoyance of the enemy in ambush.

11. Last night [10th] 20 of Major (Nathaniel) Cousins' Regt. deserted. One of the enemy deserted.

12. Major Cousins' men brought back last night.

13. Made another demonstration upon the lines of the enemy, but could not bring on an engagement. Capt. Woodman slightly wounded. [It is not known who he was. Perhaps the writer made a error in the name.]

14. News that the fleet of the enemy are at the mouth of the the [Penobscot] Bay. We began our retreat about one o'clock.

Ran with our Ships and Transports to Fort Penobscot and called on the Commissary for provisions. The enemy in sight and under cloud of sail. Some of our Ships are taken and some are run ashore. I took the boats and went on board the Centurion for provisions and then put ashore, landed it and then took off the men. Our people set fire to the shipping and then took to the woods. Our company [Capt. Peter Warren's] encamped in the woods. Took what provisions we could carry. Had 4 prisoners to guard.

Sunday, 15. Took up our line of march at daybreak, lost our way and came across about 200 of our Regt. and sailors and marines. Went across a large meadow; struck a road in the woods and kept on till 7 o'clock; took breakfast and proceeded on to Belfast where we arrived at 12 o'clock. Exceedingly warm. Came to a river and crossed in canoes. Capt. Warren purchased 2 sheep and paid 18 dollars for them. Took dinner. Arrived at a fine plantation and had a good dish of tea. Gen. [Peleg] Wadsworth and Capt. [Ebenezer] Buck supped with us. Had a fine barn to sleep in and rested comfortably.

16. Marched early through marshes, beaches and thick woods, over mountains and valleys to Ducktrap [Northport] where we arrived, the sun an hour high. P. M. One of our prisoners deserted this morning.

17. Set off early and traveled by the shore. Halted by Gen. Wadsworth's orders. Arrived at the westerly part of Camden at 1 o'clock. The place called Clam Cove. [Went to] Headquarters and drew an allowance of fresh beef. Turned out a Sergeant's Guard and took possession of a large barn for our barracks.

18. Heard that Gen. Lovell and Admiral Saltonstall were taken by the enemy. [A rumor only.] Capt. [William] Cobb and his company arrived here at 12 o'clock. [Daniel] Mussey started for Falmouth.

19. Mr. [Somers] Shattuck and Stephen Tukey arrived this morning, says Woodbury Storer was taken on board the Hampden. Mr. Shattuck and Houchin Tukey started for home. Order for Capt. Warren to march to West Shore South West Gigg. [Stephen Tukey was the son of John and Abigail (Sweetser) Tukey of

Falmouth Neck, and was born July 6, 1754, married, in 1780, Hannah Cushing, and died July 8, 1826. He was the writer's great grandfather. Houchin Tukey was his brother.]

20. Marched to Col. [Mason] Wheaton's, 6 miles. Set a corporal's guard. Here is a double saw mill and grist mill.

Sunday, 22. Lieut. [Peter] Babb set off for home or Falmouth with some four men because we had no provisions. [Zach.] Baker, [John] Clough, Thomas Harper, [Benjamin] Mussey and myself [William Moody] started for St. George between 11 and 12 o'clock.

24. Arrived at New Meadows and put up at one Capt. Curtis' where we were hospitably entertained.

26. Capt. Warren arrived home, [and probably the whole company].

Among the curious facts concerning the Bagaduce Expedition worthy of attention, are the bills of Thaddeus Broad and Joanna Frost, two famous Falmouth tavern keepers of the time, "for victualling" the retreating soldiers and sailors. Broad's account amounted to eighty-nine pounds, fourteen shillings, and Mrs. Frost's was for one hundred and eighty-six meals at twelve shillings each, amounting to one hundred eleven pounds, twelve shillings.

Sir John Moore, who was killed at Corunna, Spain, in 1806, made famous by his funeral ode, was a lieutenant in the Eighty-second regiment of the British Army, and was on the British picket line when the attack was made.

It was from under one of the Bagaduce batteries that Commodore Edward Preble, then a young lieutenant on the Winthrop, later in the war made that brilliant capture of the British brig.



GEN. PELEG WADSWORTH.

Fort George, at Castine, is now one of the best preserved forts of the Revolutionary period, from the fact that it was restored for use in the war of 1812. There were seven additional batteries erected by the British on Bagaduce Point during the Revolutionary war. It was from Fort George that Gen. Wadsworth made his celebrated and remarkable escape in June, 1781, which is fully recorded in President Dwight's Travels in New England, the facts no doubt coming from the General himself.

Probably the remarkable success of the militia in the Louisburg Expedition, in 1745, had much to do with the assurance of the people in embarking in the hastily formed Bagaduce Expedition, in 1779. Many of the veterans of the siege of Louisburg were then living, and their sons thought themselves no less gallant than their fathers. In fact, the success at Louisburg had much to do with the assurance of the colonists that they could gain their independence from England and no doubt stimulated them, especially in New England, to make the attempt.

The next year after the Bagaduce expedition, Gen. Wadsworth was placed in command of the Department of Maine, and with Col. Joseph Prime's regiment of our state guarded our coast and Penobscot Bay. No further attempt was made to dislodge the British at Castine, and there they remained until December, 1783, when they evacuated the place, as peace had been declared and the war was over.

The following are copies of the original pay-rolls that are now on file in the State House at Boston.

OFFICERS OF THE ARMY.

"A Pay Abstract of the Genl and Staff Officers of the Penobscot Expedition for the Con'l pay, 1779."

	<i>Entered Service.</i>	<i>Wages per Month.</i>
Solomon Lovell, Brig. Genl,	July 2	£37 10sh.
P. Wadsworth, do.	" 8	£37 10 "
Eliphalet Downer, Surg. Genl.,	" 8	£22 10 "
Gowen Brown, Brigade Major,	" 2	£22 4 "
William Todd, do.	" 2	£22 4 "
Jeremiah Hill, Adj't. Genl.	" 2	£15
John Marston, Secy.	" 2	£15
John Tyler, Q. M. Genl.	" 2	£22 10 "
G. W. Speakman, Comy of Ord.,	" 8	£15
Benja. Furness, D. Q. M.,	" 2	£12
J. Robbins, D. C. of Ord.,	" 8	£12
And 3 servants as privates		£2

The originals of the above pay-roll are in the Massachusetts Archives, Vol. XXXVII, Pages 93 and 131.

COL. JONATHAN MITCHELL'S REGIMENT.

"A Pay Roll for Field and Staff officers in a Regiment of militia Raised in the County of Cumberland, commanded by Jona. Mitchell Esq., in the service of the United States against the enemy at Penobscot in 1779, for Continental Pay."

	<i>Entered service.</i>	<i>Discharged.</i>	<i>Wages.</i>
Jonathan Mitchell, Colo.,	July 1	Sept. 25	£45
Nathaniel Jordan, Lieut. Colo.,	" 6	" 25	£40
Jacob Brown, 1st Major,	" 6	" 25	£35
Nathaniel Larrabee, 2d Major,	" 6	" 25	£35
Thomas Lancaster, Chaplain,	" 6 Aug. 10, at Penobscot,		£40
Nathaniel Jones, Surgeon,	" 6	died, Sept, 4	£40
Benja Porter, Sr., Surgeon's Mate,	" 6	Sept. 4	£30
Gideon Meserve, Adjutant,	" 6	" 25	£30
Enoch Frost, Sergt. Major,	" 6	" 25	£30
Nathaniel Hinkley, Qr. Master,	" 6	" 25	£25
North Yarmouth, Dec. 10, 1779.			

JONA. MITCHELL, Colo.

The wages are as given on the last roll, evidently a corrected one. The original rolls are in the Massachusetts Archives, Volume XXXVII, pages 103 and 137.

COL. JONATHAN MITCHELL.

Col. Mitchell was from North Yarmouth, and had served in the French and Indian War. He was an ensign in Col. Samuel Waldo, Jr.'s, regiment in 1762, and later a lieutenant. At Falmouth Neck he was prominent in the Revolution, and March 29, 1776, was chosen colonel to succeed Gen. Joseph Frye in command there. He was also colonel of the Second Cumberland County militia regiment, besides commanding this one at Bagaduce.

Jonathan Mitchell was the son of Deacon Jacob and Mary (Howland) Mitchell and was born in 1724. He was a blacksmith, came from Kingston about 1743, and married Sarah Loring. They had several children.

LIEUT. COL. NATHANIEL JORDAN.

Lieut. Col. Jordan was a son of Maj. Dominicus and Joanna (Bray) Jordan, and was born at Spurwink, December 24, 1718; married, August 2, 1740, Hannah Woodbury of Beverly, and had nine children.

He served in the French and Indian War, serving as ensign in Capt. Dominicus Jordan's Snowshoe company in 1744, in the same captain's Training Company in 1757, and was first major and lieutenant colonel of the 1st. Cumberland County militia regiment in 1776, and later, and served in this regiment in 1779, also commanded the militia at Falmouth Neck after the discharge of this regiment.

1ST MAJOR JACOB BROWN.

Major Brown was from North Yarmouth and married, July 13, 1743, Lydia Weare, daughter of Capt. Peter and Sarah (Felt) Weare.

He was a lieutenant in Col. Samuel Waldo, Jr's. regiment in 1764, enlisted, April 24, 1775, as major in Col. Edmund Phinney's 31st Regiment of Foot, in the 18th Continental regiment in 1776, and in this regiment in 1779.

2D MAJOR NATHANIEL LARRABEE.

Major Larrabee was the son of Capt. Benjamin and Mary (Eilthorpe) Larrabee of Brunswick, and was born in Fort George, December 23, 1729, married, in 1758, Elizabeth Harding, and was town clerk and selectman of his town for many years. He commanded a company on the seacoast at Falmouth in 1775, was a major in the 2d. Cumberland County militia regiment in 1776 and served in this in 1779. The following is a copy of his appointment in Col. Mitchell's regiment.

Major Larrabee : —

Sir: I have orders to rase a Regement out of my Brigade to go to penobscot in order to Dislodge the Enemy there, I do therefore appoint you Second major of Said Regement and expect you will hold yourself In Readyness to march at the shortest notice.

SAMUEL THOMPSON Brigdr.

To Major Nathl. Larrabee.

CHAPLAIN THOMAS LANCASTER.

Chaplain Lancaster was a native of Rowley, Massachusetts, and was the son of Capt. Thomas and Dorothy (Northend) Lancaster, having been born, January 24, 1743. He graduated at Harvard College, in 1764, settled at Scarborough as minister of the First church, November 8, 1775, where he was pastor for fifty-five

years. His first marriage was to Lydia Jones, a daughter of Dr. Benjamin and Mary (Woodbury) Jones of Beverly, Massachusetts, and she was a sister to Surgeon Nathaniel Jones of this regiment. His second marriage was to Esther (Libby) Libby, the widow of Mathias. He had Sally, Sewall, Thomas, Jr., Mary, Dorothy, who died when a young lady, and several children who died in infancy. He died, January 12, 1831, aged eighty-seven years.

SURGEON NATHANIEL JONES.

Surgeon Jones went from Cape Elizabeth. He was born February 8, 1743, and was the son of Dr. Benjamin and Mary (Woodbury) Jones of Beverly, Massachusetts. He married, in 1766, Sarah Dodge of Ipswich and had seven children. He moved to Cape Elizabeth in 1765, and lived there near the ferry landing, becoming one of the leading patriots of the town. He was a committee of correspondence and delegate to the Cumberland County Congress. He died from exposure in the retreat with his regiment from Bagaduce, September 4, 1779, aged thirty-six years.

SURGEON'S MATE BENJAMIN JONES PORTER.

Surgeon's Mate Porter went from Topsham. He was the son of Capt. "Billy" Porter of the 11th Massachusetts regiment from Beverly, Massachusetts. He married Elizabeth L. King, daughter of Richard King, and practised medicine in Scarborough, Westbrook and Portland. He was "a man of rare conversational powers and great suavity of manners," was a member

of the governor's council and senator from Lincoln County. He removed to Camden in 1829 and died August 18, 1847, aged eighty-four years.

ADJ. GIDEON MESERVE.

Adj. Meserve went from Scarborough, and was the son of Deacon Daniel and Mehitabel (Bragdon) Meserve. He was born June 31, 1749; married, about 1775, Elizabeth Fogg, and had eleven children.

SERGT. MAJOR ENOCH FROST.

Sergt. Major Frost went from Gorham. He was a retailer there and married, April 24, 1780, Alice Davis, and had Rufus, who died in infancy, Cyrus, Rebecca, Polly, Mason, Coleman, Nathaniel Bowman, Patty and Cyrus for children.

QUARTERMASTER NATHANIEL HINKLEY.

He went from Brunswick, and was, perhaps, son of Samuel and Sarah (Miller) Hinkley.

He served in Capt. Richard Mayberry's Company in Col. Ebenezer Francis' Regiment at Dorchester in 1776 and also in this regiment in 1779.

CAPT. PETER WARREN'S COMPANY.

This company was raised at Falmouth Neck, now Portland.

Capt. Warren came from Somersworth, New Hampshire, and was a cordwainer. He married first, April 16, 1775, Thankful Briggs of Falmouth, and had a daughter who married Capt. Jonathan Tucker. Mrs. Warren died February 27, 1777, aged twenty-five

years. He married second, December 30, 1778, Anne Proctor, daughter of Benjamin, and lived on Fore Street between Market and Silver Streets, called now the Market Lot. He had by this marriage seven children, and she died November 9, 1811, aged fifty-six years. He married third, Eunice Libby and moved to Waterford, where he died in 1825, aged seventy-four years. He was a prominent man at Portland and was selectman for four years. He was sergeant in Capt. Joseph Noyes' company at Falmouth six months in 1775, captain of this company in 1779, and also in Capt. Sam'l McCobb's regiment in 1781.

First Lieut. Daniel Mussey was the oldest son of Benjamin and Abigail (Weeks) Mussey. His father was a prominent patriot at Falmouth Neck, in the commencement of the troubles with England. Daniel Mussey married April 25, 1782, Betsey Baker, who died November 25, 1835, aged seventy-seven years. He died August 31, 1828, aged seventy-three years. Both are buried in the Eastern Cemetery. They lived in a story and a half house on the east corner of Brown and Congress Streets, Portland, and the property is still [1898] owned by his descendants. Mr. Mussey served as third corporal in Capt. David Bradish's company, in Col. Phinney's 31st regiment of foot in 1775, at Cambridge.

Second Lieut. Peter Babb married, January 24, 1760, Ann Haskell. He was a private in Capt. John Brackett's company in the Lexington alarm, second lieutenant in Capt. Joseph Pride's company in Col. Reuben Fogg's Cumberland County militia regiment,

chosen December 9, 1776; also in Capt. John Starbird's company in 1st Cumberland County regiment, commissioned February 1, 1777; also in this regiment at Bagaduce in 1779.

"A Pay Roll of Capt. Peter Warren's Compy in the Battallion of Malitia Commanded by Jona Mitchell, Esq. on an expedition against Penobscot."

Falmouth, Sept. 25, 1779.

Date of Enlistment.

Peter Warren, Captain,	July 1, 1779
Daniel Mussey, First Lieut.,	do.
Peter Babb, Second Lieut.,	do.
John Dole, Sergt.,	do.
Stephen Tukey, Sergt.,	do.
Isaac Mirick, Sergt.,	do.
Micah Sampson, Sergt.,	do.
Hugh McLellan, Corp.,	do.
John Clough, Corp.,	do.
Josiah Bayley, Corp.,	do.
Samuel Knight, Corp.,	do.
William Moody, Drummer,	do.
William Harper, Fifer,	do.

PRIVATES.

Benjamin Mussey,	July 1, 1779.	
Daniel Cobb,	do.	
David Warren,	do.	
Daniel Green,	do.	
Ebenr Owen,	do.	
Elijah Ward,	do.	
Ebenr Gustin,	do.	
Eleazer Whitney,	do.	Not joined after the retreat.
Houchin Tukey,	do.	
Isaac Randall,	do.	
Isaac Larrabee,	do.	Not joined after the retreat.
John Fogg,	do.	do.
Joseph Morse,	do.	
John Hans,	do.	
John Masury,	do.	
Jonathan Sawyer,	do.	
James Hans,	do.	

John D. Smith,	July 1, 1799	
Joseph Stanford,	do.	
Josiah Shaw,	do.	
Joseph Thomas,	do.	
Jeremiah Brackett,	do.	
John Small,	do.	
Josiah Walker,	do.	
John Roe,	do.	
James Rand,	do.	
Joseph Johnson,	do.	
Henry Waite,	do.	
Lemuel Cox,	do.	
Moses Brazier,	do.	
Nathl Moody,	do.	
Nathl Libby,	do.	
Peter Kelley,	do.	
Paul Dyer,	do.	Not joined after the retreat.
Richard Codman,	do.	
Richard Fassett,	do.	
Robert Poage,	do.	
Somers Shattuck,	do.	
Samuel Larrabee,	do.	Not joined after the retreat
Thomas Gustin,	do.	do.
Woodbury Storer,	do.	(Appointed clerk to the Adj. Gen.) Aug. 1.
Wheeler Riggs,	do.	Killed ye 7th August, 1779.
William Maxwell,	do.	
Zach Baker,	do.	
Total, 57 men		

The wages and terms of service were as follows:

Captain,	\$40.00 per month,	2 mos., 25 days service.
First Lieut.,	\$26½ " "	2 " 25 " "
Second Lieut.,	\$26½ " "	2 " 25 " "
Sergeants,	\$10.00 " "	2 " 18 " "
Corporals and Musicians }	\$7½ " "	2 " 18 " "
Privates,	\$6½ " "	2 " 18 " "

Cumberland, Ss., Dec. 3, 1779, Captain Peter Warren and Daniel Mussey made oath to the Truth of the foregoing Pay Roll for their Company in the Expedition against Penobscot under the command of Jonathan Mitchell, Esq., and that the several Persons borne on Said Roll served the Time thereon mentioned.

CORAM ENOCH FREEMAN, *Justo Pacis.*

The original of this roll is in the Massachusetts Archives, Vol. XXXVII, Page 102.

CAPT. JOSHUA JORDAN'S COMPANY.

This company went from the town of Cape Elizabeth.

Capt. Joshua Jordan was the son of Nathaniel and Dorothy Jordan, and was born at Spurwink, in 1736. He married March 24, 1763, Catherine Jordan, a daughter of Richard and Katherine (Hanscom) Jordan. They had eight children, and he died at Richmond Island. Capt. Jordan was a training soldier in Capt. Dominicus Jordan's company, in 1757, captain in Col. Peter Noyes' militia regiment, November 20, 1778, and served in this regiment.

First Lieut. Dominicus Mitchell had a wife, Anne, and they acknowledged the covenant in the First Parish church, Falmouth, September 7, 1766. He served as lieutenant in Samuel Whitmore's company, in Col. Reuben Fogg's regiment, and is said to have gone to Peekskill, New York.

Second Lieut. Lemuel Dyer married Sarah Jones, in 1782. He was licensed a retailer in 1783, and may have had other service than that in this regiment.

"A Pay Role For the commissioned and non-commissioned officers and soldiers in Capt. Joshua Jordan's Company in Col. Jonathan Mitchell's Regt. in an Expedition against Penobscot From the 7th of July to the 25th of Sept. 1779 - in the Continental service."

Joshua Jordan,	Capt.
Dominicus Mitchell,	1st. Lieut.
Lemuel Dyer,	2d Lieut.
Tristum Jordan,	Sergt.
Peter Sanborn,	"

John Thorndick,	Sergt.
Soloman Jordan,	"
Abner Fickett,	Corp.
Josiah Black,	"
Dan'l Roberson,	"
Ebenezer Sawyer,	"
Abraham Jordan,	Drummer.
Robert Thorndike,	Fifer.

PRIVATES.

Moses Hanson	Thos. Cummins
Zachariah Leach	Ebenezer Shaw
Lemuel Dyer, Jr.	John Hall
Thomas Jordan	David Sanborn
Joseph Maxwell	Benjamin Swett
Samuel Jordan	Joseph Chace
James Jordan	Jacob York
John Maxwell	Robert Row
William Maxwell	Saml Batchlor
James Miller	Richard Pierce
Zebulon Ficket	John Strout
David Parker	Wm. Freeman
George Strout	Mark Dyer
Nath'l Cash	Jacob Sawyer
Richard Wescott	Ezekiel Sawyer
Enoch Strout	James Mitchell
Samuel Crockett	Patrick Irish
Elkeny Dyer	John Fickett
John Orion	Batholemo Jaxson
Eli Jaxson	Isaac Dyer

Total, 53 men.

The original pay-rolls of this company are in the Massachusetts Archives, Volume XXXVII, pages 85 and 126.

CAPT. NEHEMIAH CURTIS' COMPANY.

This company was raised in the town of Harpswell.

Capt. Nehemiah Curtis was the son of David and Bethia Curtis, and was born in Hanover, Massachusetts,

in 1733. He was a prominent man at Harpswell, and served the town as selectman several years, and during the Revolutionary War was a committee of safety. He lived near Center Harpswell. His death occurred December 26, 1816, at the age of eighty-three years. In the old graveyard, near where he lived, he was buried, and from his gravestone I copied this epitaph.

A true Patriot, commanded the Militia before and during the revolutionary war, discharged with honor & fidelity the several offices he held & hath left an imitable pattern.

First Lieut. Isaac Hall was probably the son of Isaac and Abigail Hall of Harpswell. His wife's name was Joanna and he was probably the ferryman at Sebascodegan Island.

Second Lieut. Ebenezer Stanwood belonged in Brunswick and was a licensed innholder, 1771-1785, and a retailer in 1793.

"A Pay Roll for Capt. Nehemiah Curtis' Company in Col. Jonathan Mitchell's Regt in the Service of the United States in the Expedition at Penobscot from the 7th day of July to the 25th day of September inclusive, 1779."

Nehemiah Curtis,	Capt.
Isaac Hall,	1st Lieut.
Eben'r Stanwood,	2nd "
Marlboro Sylvester,	Serg't.
Elnathan Hinkley,	"
Kingsbury Eastman,	"
Wm. Dunning,	"
David Given,	Corp.
Wm. Tarr,	"
John Spear,	"
Caleb Curtis,	"
Ezekiel Brown,	Drummer.
Daniel Webber,	Fifer.

PRIVATES.

Samuel Stanwood	Wm. Getchell
Robert Stanwood	Stephen Rideout
Isaac Chase	Fields Coombs
Josiah Clark	Wm. Curtis
Daniel Booker	Hezekiah Coombs
Wm. Mallet	Phinehas Thomson
John Blake	Asa Coombs
James Barstow	John Jordan
Isaiah Booker	James Chase
Nehemiah Ward	Benj. Getchel
Wm. Wilson	Robert Purington
Joseph Ewing	Hudson Bishop
Wm. McLellan	John Linscot
James Ross	Benj. Sleeper
David Doughty	Joseph Woodward
Nathl Ham	David Dunning
John Andross	John Dunning
Calvin Cowen	Abraham Rideout
Thos. Morgareidge	Jedediah Allen
Swanzy Wilson	Wm. Woodside
Nehemiah Ward, Jr.	Wm. Starboard
Joseph Webber	Hugh Dunlap
John Ferrin	Silas Kemp
Joseph Tompson	James Bibber
Lemuel Rament	David Johnson
Mathew Martin	Joseph Ross
Joseph Webber	John Larrabee
Peter Williams	Saml Hunt
John Crawford	Asa Millar
Thos. Ham	Abner Purington

Total, 73 men.

Josiah Clark, Wm. Mallet, Isaiah Booker and David Johnson were allowed two months and eight days' service, Joseph Ross, two months and fifteen days, and all others, two months and eighteen days. The men were allowed seventy-six miles travel in marching home. Three of this company deserted, August 4, and the History of Harpswell says some of the men

never received any pay. There are two original pay-rolls in the Massachusetts Archives, one in Volume XXXV, page 251, and another in Volume XL, page 120.

CAPT. NATHAN MERRILL'S COMPANY.

This company was raised from the towns of New Gloucester, Windham, Gray, Poland and Turner. They were credited with two months and seventeen days service.

Capt. Nathan Merrill belonged in Gray and, in 1776, served as first lieutenant in Capt. Winthrop Baston's company at the siege of Boston, in Col. Jacob French's regiment. He was also a captain in Col. Mitchell's regiment in 1779, and took a British corporal prisoner at Bagaduce, July 31. He probably went from Falmouth to Gray, and from there to New Gloucester.

First Lieut. Edward Anderson went from Windham. He was the son of Abraham Anderson and was born May 10, 1753, married August 4, 1774, Mary Mayberry, a daughter of Capt. Richard and Martha (Bolton) Mayberry; she was born November 10, 1756, and died May 20, 1846, aged eighty-nine years. They had eleven sons and one daughter, and he died May 17, 1804, aged fifty-one years.

Lieut. Anderson settled at the foot of Windham Hill, where he built a house and saw mill. He was the first postmaster of the town, selectman and was a colonel in the militia. His service in the army was as lieutenant in Capt. Samuel Knight's company, July

1, 1775, and served at Falmouth six months and sixteen days, also was second lieutenant in Capt. Thomas Trott's company of 4th Cumberland County militia commissioned in September, 1777, besides his service in Col. Mitchell's regiment at Bagaduce in 1779.

Second Lieut. Peter Graffam was a son of Caleb and Lois (Bennett) Graffam, of Windham, and was born at Falmouth, April 3, 1742. He married, February 16, 1764, Mary Wilson, and settled in New Gloucester before 1770, where he had a sawmill. He was a housewright and died about 1784. We know of no other service in this army than that in Col. Mitchell's regiment in 1779.

"Muster Roll of Capt. Nathan Merrill's Company of Militia Raised in the County of Cumberland for the expedition against the Penobscot, For the Service of the United States and served in a Detachment Commanded by Col. Jonathan Mitchell."

Marched July 8, and were discharged Sept. 25, 1779.

Nathan Merrill,	Capt.
Edward Anderson,	1st Lieut.
Peter Graffum,	2d Lieut.
John Elder,	Sergt.
Richard Haden,	"
Thos. Mabury,	"
John Marshall,	"
Asa Libby,	Corp.
John Hodge,	"
Joseph Elder,	"
Francis Bennit,	"
Isaac Cummings,	Drummer
John McGuyer,	Fifer

PRIVATES.

James Mabury,	Saml Nevens,
Benj. Trott,	Edward Ryon,
Thomas Chute,	James Noyes,
Nathl Chase,	Isaac Eoly,

John Mugford,
 Samuel Lord,
 Samuel Toben,
 George Knight,
 Joseph Roberts,
 Nemiah Allen,
 Samuel Todd,
 Samuel Bradbury,
 James Allan,
 Stephen Row,
 John Harris,
 Benj. Witham,
 David Paul,
 Joshua Clark,
 Joseph Collins,
 James Stevens,
 Samuel Tarbox,
 John Chandler,

Thomas Millett,
 Zephth Benson,
 Joshua Strout.
 Aaron Davis,
 Job Denning,
 Saml Morgan,
 Wm. Cordwell,
 Jona Saunders,
 Wm. Libby,
 Job Young,
 Amos Hobbs,
 Nathan Noble, Jr.
 Daniel Knight,
 Benj. Jones,
 Mark Andros,
 Moses Merrill,
 Abner Phillips,
 Joshua Lain,
 Nathl Stevens.

Total, 58 men.

The original pay-roll is in the Massachusetts Archives, Vol. XXXVII, Page 120.

CAPT. BENJAMIN LARRABEE'S COMPANY.

This company was raised in the town of Scarborough.

Capt. Benjamin Larrabee was the son of Benjamin and Sarah Larrabee of Scarborough, and was born March 23, 1740. He married, June 28, 1778, Hannah (Hasty) Skillings, the widow of Capt. John Skillings of the 11th Massachusetts regiment, and died April 17, 1829, aged eighty-nine years. Capt. Larrabee commanded a company at Falmouth Neck in October and November 1775, served in Col. Reuben Fogg's militia regiment, and in 1779 in Col. Mitchell's regiment.

After the war, he was a colonel in the militia and a representative to the General Court.

First Lieut. Josiah Libby was the son of Josiah and Anna (Small) Libby of Scarborough, and was born February 16, 1746. He married first, in 1769, Eunice Libby; second, in 1776, Elizabeth (Parcher) Foss; and third, Mary (Chase) Jones. He died March 1, 1824, aged seventy-eight years. Lieut. Libby served in Capt. John Wentworth's company, Col. Aaron Willard's regiment in 1776 and in Col. Mitchell's regiment in 1779.

Second Lieut. Lemuel Milliken was the son of Edward and Abigail (Norman) Milliken, of Scarborough, and married January 18, 1770, Phebe Lord. They had at least seven children, Abraham, Mary, Susan, Margaret, Samuel, Phebe and Jacob.

Lieut. Milliken served as a sergeant in Capt. John Rice's company in Col. Phinney's 31st regiment of foot in 1775, and Col. Mitchell's regiment in 1779.

"A Pay Roll of Benjamin Larrabee's Company belonging to Col. Mitchell's Regiment in ye Expedition against Penobscot."

"All marched July 9th. Discharged Sept. 12th."

Benjamin Larrabee,	Capt.
Josiah Libby,	1st Lieut,
Lemuel Milliken,	2nd Lieut.
Robert Hasty,	Sergt
Seth Libby,	"
Isaac Davis,	"
Nathl Milliken,	"
Joseph Hodsdon,	Corp.
Humphrey Hanscom,	"
William McLellan,	"
William Shule,	"
John Martin,	Drummer
Jeremiah Banks,	Fifer

PRIVATES.

Daniel Stone,	Robert Edgsecom,
Chas Runnels,	Ebenr Sevey,
Martin Jose,	John Andrews,
Thos McKenney,	George Newbegin,
John McKenney,	Thos. Berry,
Mark Libby,	Simeon Beal,
William Mars,	Samuel Libby,
Joseph Brown,	Eleazer Briant,
John Bragdon,	Joel Harmon,
Wm Gilford,	Elias Harmon,
Samuel Plummer,	Nathl Rice,
Joseph Ring,	John Meserve,
Joshua Hutchins,	George Moses,
Soloman Larrabee,	Lemuel Jordan,
Moses Libby,	Jona. Harmon,
William Mitchell,	Joseph Waterhouse,
Gibeon Plummer,	Increase Graffum,
James McKenney,	David Burnam,
Nathan Larrabee,	Levi Morrill,
Simeon Fitz,	Nathan Kimball,
Wm Fenderson,	Ezekiel Foster,
Roberd McKenney,	Abnor Lunt,
Ebenr. Boothby,	John Watson,
Thos. Thurston,	Danl Libby,
Thos. Tompson,	Joseph Tyler,
John Molton,	David Hasty,
Samuel Holms,	Nathan Moses.
Total, 64 men.	

The men of this company were allowed two months and three days service. The original pay-roll is in the Massachusetts Archives, Vol. XXXVII, Page 89.

CAPT. WILLIAM COBB'S COMPANY.

This company was raised in Old Falmouth, on the Presumpscot River. On the retreat they arrived at Camden, August 18.

Capt. William Cobb was the son of Samuel Cobb, a shipbuilder, and prominent in the affairs of Old

Falmouth in his time. He married, March 2, 1778, Eunice Quimby, a daughter of Joseph and Mary Quimby. He became a colonel in the militia and built the large brick house in Market Square in Portland, which was altered into the American House and burned in 1852. Capt. Cobb served as first lieutenant in Capt. Jesse Partridge's company in Col. John Greateon's 3d Massachusetts regiment, eight months in the army on the Hudson River in 1778, and as captain in Col. Mitchell's regiment at Bagaduce in 1779.

First Lieut. Moses Merrill belonged in Old Falmouth and married, in 1777, Jane Hutchinson. He was a private in Capt. Samuel Noyes' company in Col. Phinney's regiment, in 1775, and first lieutenant in Col. Mitchell's regiment in 1779. He was alive in 1835, aged ninety years.

Second Lieut. Joshua Stevens married February 5, 1767, Susannah Sawyer. He was a sergeant in Capt. John Brackett's company in Col. Phinney's 31st regiment of foot in 1775, and second lieutenant in this company in Col. Mitchell's regiment in 1779.

Ensign Nathaniel Tompson lived in Falmouth. He was the son of Joseph Tompson and had brothers, Edward and Joseph.

Muster Roll of Capt. William Cobb's Company of Militia Raised in the County of Cumberland for an expedition against Penobscot. For the service of the United States and Served in a Detachment commanded by Col Jona Mitchell."

All marched July 8, and were discharged Sept. 25, 1779.

William Cobb,	Capt.
Moses Merrill,	1st. Lieut.
Joshua Stevens,	2nd "

Nath'l Tompson,	Ensign.
Amos Noyes,	Sergt.
Amos Merrill,	"
Moses Noyes,	"
Wm. Brackett,	"
James Merrill,	Corp.
Josiah Lock,	"
Peter Cobb,	"
Benj. McIntire,	"
Josiah Berrey,	Drummer.
Joshua Whitney,	Fifer.

PRIVATES.

Nath'l Wormwell	Ephrm. Lunt
Joseph Wormwell	Zachr. Merrill
Josiah Clark	James Noyes
Joseph Davis	Josiah Noyes
Jona Knight	Nathan Lunt
Benja Moody	Moses Adams
Amos Knight	Robert Morrison
Moses Blanchard	John Proctor
Tobias Goold	Joseph Pride
Thos. Merrill	Isaac Sawyer
Israel Merrill	John Sawyer
James Merrill, Jr.	Charles Walker
Jona Sawyer	Stephen Knight
Nathl Tripp	Joseph Merrill
John Thurlo	Mark Knight
Nathl Patrick	Thos. Knight
Jos. Stapels	Joshua Dunn
James Roberts	Jona Sawyer
Stephen Dodd	Amos Knight
Wm. Titcomb	John Merrill
Benj. Pettengell	Nathl Noyes
David Underwood	Joshua Brackett
Wm. Dodd	Nathl Gordon
John Brackett	Saml. Swett
Thos. Doughty	Peter Hammond
Edmund Merrill	Page Tobey
Edmund Merrill, Jr.	John Brown
James Frank	John Plummer
Total, 70 men.	

There are two original pay-rolls of this company in the Massachusetts Archives, Volume XXXVII, pages 117 and 135.

CAPT. ALEXANDER McLELLAN'S COMPANY.

This company was raised in Gorham, and it is said they suffered severely in their retreat of eighty or ninety miles through the wild and uncultivated country and that several perished on the way.

Capt. Alexander McLellan was the son of Hugh and Elizabeth McLellan of Gorham, and was born about 1741. He married, October 21, 1765, Margaret Johnson, a daughter of James and Jane Johnson, of Stroudwater; she was born in 1739. Their children were Jenny, died young; James, died young; Isaac, William, Nelly, Alexander, James and Jenny. Capt. McLellan, from overexertion, anxiety, and exposure in the retreat from Bagaduce, was seized with a fever and died October 4, 1779, aged about thirty-eight years. His widow married for her second husband, April 15, 1781, John Miller of Gorham. Rev. Elijah Kellogg, a grandson of Capt. McLellan's sister Mary, wrote that he was one "who was a very devil for grit."

First Lieut. Ebenezer Murch of Gorham, married in 1763, Margaret Phillips of Pepperrellboro, now Saco, and had Joseph, Jeremiah, Isaac, John, Lydia, Moses, Aaron, Sally, Betty and Ebenezer, Jr.

Second Lieut. Joseph Knight lived in Gorham near South Windham, where he purchased land in 1767. He erected a sawmill and carried on the lumbering business. He married January 10, 1760, Lydia Libby,

a daughter of John and Mary (Miller) Libby of Scarborough, who was born June 5, 1743. He was drowned while working about his mill September 9, 1797, aged sixty-two years. They had Lydia, Phebe, Nathaniel, Daniel, Joseph, Nabby, Joseph, Samuel, Morris, Winthrop and Benjamin.

"A Pay Roll for Capt. Alexander McLellan's Company in Col. Jonathan Mitchell's Regt. in the Expedition against the Enemy at Penobscot it being for the pay from the Massachusetts State—1779."

All entered service July 7 and were discharged Sept. 25, 1779.

Alexander McLellan,	Capt.
Ebenezer Murch,	1st Lieut.
Joseph Knight,	2nd Lieut.
Thomas Irish,	Sergt.
George Strout,	"
Stephen Whitney,	"
John Emory,	"
Daniel Whitney,	Corp.
Jeremiah Hodsdon,	"
Samuel File,	"
Joseph McDonald,	"
John Lakeman,	Drummer.

PRIVATES.

Edmund Phinney, Jr.	Charles McDonald
Benjamin Haskell	Joseph Irish
Moses Hanscom	William Meserve
John Blanchard	Uriel Whitney
John Gamman	Joseph Jones
Joseph Gamman	Seth Harding
Samuel Murch	Gershon Davis
John Phinney	Daniel Whitmore
Nathl. Bacon	Abner Jordan
Wm. McLellan	Moses Jordan
Lazarus Rand	John Elwell
James Murch	William Irish
Richard Lombard	James Stubbs
Prince Hamblen	John Davis
John Parker	Samuel Rounds
Josiah Swett	William File

Peter White	Joshua Davis
Daniel Whitney	William Wood
Joseph Brackett	Abel Whitney
John Meserve	Stephen Powell
Wm. Murch	Asa Thurlo
Edward Wilson	John Hermon
Zachariah Weston	James Huntress
John Akers	Samuel Whitney
Benjamin Stevens	Isaac Chase
Ebenezer Whitney	James Watson
Benjamin Roberts	Stephen Sawyer

John Smith

Total, 67 men,

The wages in this pay-roll are given as follows : —

Captain,	£30	per month
Lieutenants,	£24	" "
Sergeants,	£23	" "
Corporals,	£22	" "
Privates,	£21	" "

The original pay-roll is in the Massachusetts Archives, Volume XXXVII, page 83, and there is another on page 128.

CAPT. JOHN GRAY'S COMPANY.

This company was raised at North Yarmouth.

Capt. John Gray was the son of Andrew and Phebe (Chandler) Gray and was born November 29, 1732. He married in November, 1755, Sarah Mitchell, a daughter of Deacon Jacob and Rachel (Lewis) (Cushing) Mitchell, who died May 27, 1796, aged sixty years. He died December 27, 1796, aged sixty-four years. They had five boys and seven girls. He was a shipmaster and farmer and lived at North Yarmouth.

First Lieut. John Soule was the son of Barnabas and Jane (Bradbury) Soule and was born March 12,

1740. He married first, November 30, 1763, Elizabeth Mitchell, a daughter of Benjamin and Mehitable (Bragdon) Mitchell. She was born September 29, 1747, and died December 26, 1794. He married second, October 10, 1795, Elizabeth Stanwood of Brunswick, who died April 26, 1800, and he married third, April 17, 1814, Chloe Josselyn, who died September 26, 1831. His children were Mehitable, Dorcas, Cornelius, Benjamin, John, Elizabeth, Bradbury, Joanna, Rufus, Joseph and Barnabas. He was a sea captain.

Lieut. Soule was a lieutenant in the militia at North Yarmouth in 1776, also in Col. Mitchell's regiment in 1779, in the Bagaduce Expedition.

Second Lieut. Ozias Blanchard was the son of Nathaniel and Hannah (Shaw) Blanchard, and was born in Weymouth, Massachusetts, July 31, 1742. He married in 1769, Mercy Soule, the daughter of Barnabas and Jane (Bradbury) Soule, and, therefore, a sister to Lieut. John Soule of this company. She was born November 27, 1749. They had Samuel, Jeremiah, David, Reuben, Daniel and Olive.

Lieut. Blanchard was a sergeant in Captain George Roger's company of the 2d Cumberland County militia regiment, and served six days fortifying Falmouth Neck in November, 1775. He was second lieutenant in Capt. John Worthley's company in Col. Reuben Fogg's militia regiment, December 9, 1776, also commissioned January 14, 1777, in Capt. John Gray's company in the militia, and served in Col. Mitchell's regiment in 1779, two months and six days at Bagaduce. He was a lieutenant colonel in the militia in 1792.

"A Pay Roll for Capt. John Gray's Company in Col. Jonathan Mitchell's Regt. of Militia in the Service of the United States in the Expedition at Penobscot from the 7th of July to the 12th of Sept. inclusive, 1779."

		<i>Wages.</i>
John Gray,	Capt.	£12
John Soule,	1st. Lieut.	£8, 2 sh.
Ozias Blanchard,	2nd. "	£8, 2 "
Joseph Ludden,	Sergt.	£2, 8 "
James Pittee,	"	£2, 8 "
Robt. Anderson,	"	£2, 8 "
James Rogers,	"	£2, 8 "
Ezekiel Loring,	Q. M. Sergt.	discharged, Aug. 23. £2, 4 sh.
Samuel Talbot,	Corp.	died Sept. 25.
James Crocker,	"	£2, 4 sh.
Calvin Carver,	"	£2, 4 "
John Winslow,	"	£2, 4 "
Jacob Brown, Jr.,	Drummer.	£2, 4 "
Davis Woodward, Jr.,	Fifer.	£2, 4 "

PRIVATES.

Joe Sweetser	Josh Lake
Seth Blanchard	Joseph Brewer
Richard Stubbs, Jr.	Jas. Anderson, Jr.
Jonathan True	Edward Parker
John Davis	Geo. Bartol
Benj. Winslow	Danl. Carter
Saml. Lawrence	Burrel Tuttle
Amos Harris, Jr.	Nath. Weeks
Wm. Buxton	Abner Dennison, Jr.
James Pomroy	Tho. Sylvester
Wm. Ring	Moses Roberts, discharged Aug 25.
Wm. Bradbury	Levi Marston
Josiah Wyman	Josiah Reed
Barna Soul	Nathan Aldridge
Joseph Humphrey	Jacob Merrill
Danl. Worthley	Tho. Burrows
John Oakes	John Drinkwater, Jr.
Ephm. Brown	Edmond Titcomb, Jr.
Isaac Royal, discharged Aug. 23.	Wm. Soul
Amaziah Delano	Benaiah Fogg

Nathl. Mitchell, discharged Aug. 23.	Zebulon Tuttle
Danl. Mitchell, Jr.	Josiah Dill
Peter Weare	John Lee
Comfort Videto	Wm. True
Thos. Pearson, Jr.	Joseph Davis, discharged Aug. 23
Soloman Williams	Ezekiel Hacket, " " "
Total, 66 men.	

The privates' wages were £2 per month, and the original pay-roll of this company is in the Massachusetts Archives, Volume XXXVI, page 18.

The people of America are appreciating more and more, each year, the value of the services of the suffering soldiers of the Revolution. Their victories were few and their defeats many, but their resolute devotion to a cause which they believed just, and time has proved it so, commands the admiration and respect of all lovers of liberty. The regiments that suffered in defeat and disaster were a part of the noble army of men that gained for us our independence, and will always be honored for what they attempted to do towards that end.

"The contest was long, bloody and affecting. Righteous heaven approved the solemn appeal, victory crowned their arms, and the peace, liberty and independence of the United States of America was their glorious reward."

THE MEETING-HOUSE WAR IN NEW MARBLEHEAD.

BY SAMUEL T. DOLE.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, January 28, 1897.

ONE important condition of the grant of New Marblehead, now Windham, was that the proprietors should build a convenient meeting-house for the public worship of God within five years of their admission. Accordingly, at a meeting held in the parent town, June 9, 1737, they voted to comply with this condition, and chose a committee to report "the dimensions and form" of the proposed edifice. At the adjourned meeting, June 23, the committee reported as follows: "That it was their opinion that a meeting-house suitable for said township at present, be about forty feet long, thirty feet wide, and ten feet high from the bottom of the sill to the upside of the plate, with a sufficient roof so as to make convenient accommodations, the building of which will cost near one hundred pounds." Whereupon, says the old record, they "voted to build according to the report."

At the same time they "voted that the meeting-house be built on the westernmost corner of the ten-acre lot, to be laid out, and belonging to the ministerial lot."

This was home lot, No. 33, in the first division of ten-acre lots in the new township. It appears that

they soon entered into a contract with Nathaniel Cogswell, one of the grantees, to build the house as soon as possible. It also appears that he shortly afterwards came here and commenced work, but in consequence of the threats and menaces of the Indians who claimed the land on both sides of the Presumpscot River, from the lake to the sea, the workmen were driven away, and all work was suspended for the time. However, a treaty of some kind was made, and the work proceeded slowly. After some time had elapsed the building was partially finished and opened for religious service. It was a rude and comfortless affair, and appears to have been destitute of doors or windows; but such as it was, the few settlers occupied it as a place of worship until 1744-45, when, in consequence of the Indian war, they were compelled to take refuge in their fort, where they remained until peace was declared.

In 1746, we find that the inhabitants petitioned the proprietors for leave to demolish the meeting-house and use the material to strengthen their defenses, but so far as can be learned no action was taken on the petition or answer returned to their request. In the meantime, however, by the advice of their pastor, Rev. John Wight, they proceeded to pull down the building and make use of the material for the desired purpose. This unwarranted action on their part appears to have given offense to the proprietors, for we find that when the war was over, and the settlers were desirous of building a house of worship and petitioned for aid, the proprietors flatly refused any

help whatever, and coolly informed them, that inasmuch as they had demolished the house without permission from that august body, if they wanted another they might build it themselves.

Their first minister, Rev. John Wight, who was settled December 14, 1743, had accompanied them to their stronghold, and shared with his flock all the dangers and privations incident to savage warfare until the return of peace, and it is asserted that divine worship was regularly maintained during their sojourn in the old block-house. After his death, which took place May 8, 1753, they were destitute of a settled minister for about ten years, and no attempt to build a meeting-house was made during that time. Finally, after considerable effort on their part, and some help from the proprietors, they were able to settle their second pastor, the Rev. Peter Thacher Smith. He was ordained here September 22, 1762, the services being held in the fort and, during his pastorate of more than twenty-eight years, religious service was constantly held within its time-hallowed walls.

During this period several attempts were made by the inhabitants to build a more convenient house of worship, but for many years they were unsuccessful in their endeavors. The first attempt was at a town meeting, held in the old fort on May 19, 1767, when it was "voted that Mr. Abraham Anderson, Capt. Caleb Graffam and Mr. Thomas Mayberry be a committee to lay out a convenient place to build a meeting-house in said town for the public worship of God." The next year, or on March 30, 1768, the committee

reported that they had laid out "a convenient place for the purpose named on the northeast end of home lot No. 15, in the first division of ten-acre lots." This lot was about one-half mile north of the fort, and had been originally drawn by Capt. Peter Colman, a master mariner of Old Marblehead, and one of the grantees of New Marblehead. It appears, however, that the spot laid out was unsatisfactory to many, and so far as can be learned nothing more was done until January, 1770, when it was voted "that a meeting house should be built, all the outside to be paid for by a rate made and collected the same as other town rates." At the same time it was also "voted, that the house be sixty feet in length, forty-eight feet wide, and twenty-feet posts," but owing to the poverty of some, and a most decided opposition from others, it was found impossible to carry these votes into effect; and after a vast amount of ill feeling was engendered, if we are to believe the old traditions, the whole matter was abandoned.

About this time several families moved into town and settled on a division of hundred-acre lots which had been laid out some years before, and many argued that the meeting-house should be located so as to accommodate the newcomers, while others stoutly contended for the original site, and so the war raged with unabated vigor for some time. Also several Quaker families came here and located. These, according to their peculiar tenets, sturdily opposed the building of what they termed "steeple houses," or in any way contributing to a paid ministry. Then, too,

began to be heard the indistinct mutterings of that war cloud, which finally culminated in the separation of the colonies from the mother country.

Nevertheless, our ancestors, or a part of them, at least, were determined to have a decent place of worship, but nothing more appears to have been done until August 27, 1773, when the assembled wisdom of the town met in the fort and left on record for the edification (or otherwise) of all generations the following manifesto: "Voted, that the meeting-house shall not be built near the corner of the lott Mr. Thomas Trott has in his possession before the Widows Doore." A well-known antiquarian once wrote me for some of the most interesting votes passed by the inhabitants of my native town, particularly those of an early date. Among others I sent him the foregoing, and in a short time I received a letter in which he stated that he was at a loss to understand what it meant, and hinted at a possible mistake on my part. My reply was to the effect that I had depended much on his well-known ability to unravel profound mysteries, and was greatly disappointed at his not being able to cope with this one, assuring him, however, that I had made no mistake in transcribing, but that we might console ourselves with the fact that this vote had puzzled wiser heads than ours, and was quite likely to do so in all future time. Whatever its true meaning was, it appears to have disgusted at least one of a committee previously chosen to build a house of worship, as we find that at an adjourned meeting, held September 10, 1773, John Bodge positively

refused to act in that capacity, and that Capt. Graffam was chosen to fill the vacancy. At the same time and place it was "Voted that the sum of one hundred pounds, lawful money, be raised by the inhabitants of this town to build a meeting-house, and the above-mentioned sum be raised or gathered by a tax laid on the inhabitants of said town, by the constable of said town, and if each man's share is not delivered to the committee, in lumber by the tenth day of October next then the above sum is to be collected by the collector or constable, and paid to the Treasurer, to be laid out in building said meeting-house as soon as possible."

The spot they decided on was home lot No. 21, and but a few rods from where the original church building had formerly stood. Tradition asserts that in spite of all opposition a frame was erected and partly boarded, and for a while everything appeared to favor the enterprise, but in time the enthusiasm of the projectors cooled, the building was never finished, and was subsequently taken down.

No record of any further action in the matter is to be found until May 25, 1781, at which time they voted to build a house of worship "at the mouth of the road that comes from Mr. Ezra Brown's into the main road." This was on one of the hundred acre lots, and the road mentioned joined the main, or river road, at a point midway between the dwelling houses of the late William Brown, Esq., and Edward S. True, but has long been closed to public travel. From what I can learn, this locality appeared to be satisfactory

to the majority, and preparations were made for building at once; but as the poet tells us, "The best laid schemes o' mice and men gang aft a-gley." So it was in this case, for when the owner of the land came to be consulted, he positively refused to give or sell the land for the desired purpose, and the enterprise had to be abandoned, much to the disgust of all concerned.

Their next attempt to build a meeting-house was on January 28, 1783, when they voted to build on the ministerial lot No. 5, in the first division of one hundred acre lots. They also voted to raise two hundred and fifty pounds for building purposes, chose a committee to oversee the work, and decided to have the house sixty feet long, and forty-eight feet wide. These resolutions met with so much opposition from those living in "old dominion," or extreme part of the town, that it was deemed impracticable to build on the lot selected. So, on February 10, 1783, they voted to build on "Mr. Osgood's hill" and also to reduce the appropriation from two hundred and fifty pounds to one hundred and fifty; also to have the house smaller, viz.: fifty feet long and forty wide. These concessions, however, failed to satisfy certain disaffected ones, who, among other objections, argued that the town was too poor to expend money on a meeting-house; that the old fort was good enough for all who cared to attend divine worship; hinted that the place was quite as good as the preaching they heard when there, and that the money had better be expended for some more useful purpose, while several knowing ones stoutly

contended that all votes heretofore passed in regard to a meeting-house were illegal. In short, the meeting became so uproarious that it was thought best to adjourn for two days, which was accordingly done.

At the adjournment, February 12, 1783, they again met, and the following is a true copy of the proceedings of that convocation: "Voted that all other votes in the former meetings concerning the meeting-house be reconsidered. Voted to build a decent meeting-house in said town. Voted to see if the place might be on Mr. Osgood's hill, but negatived. Voted to see if the place might be on Mr. Joseph Blaney, Esqr.'s hill, but negatived. Voted to see if the place might be on the ministerial lot, but negatived. Voted to have the meeting-house built on Mr. Osgood's hill on the main road. Voted to see if the house be fifty feet long, and forty feet wide, but negatived. Voted to see if the house be forty-five feet long and thirty-five feet wide, but negatived. Voted to raise a sum of money to build the meeting-house, but negatived. Voted to dismiss all the other articles in the warning. Voted to dissolve the meeting. Richard Dole, Town Clerk."

An old tradition tells us that notwithstanding all this opposition, the few who favored the movement erected a meeting-house frame on Esquire Blaney's hill and partly boarded the walls, but went no further with the undertaking, and afterwards sold it for other purposes. This locality was on the farm now (1897) owned by the heirs of Stephen Webb, and the building stood a few rods north of the present dwelling-house. At a

town meeting held on April 8, 1784, the following votes appear on the old records: "Voted that there shall be a decent meeting-house built for the worship of God. Voted to see if the house should be at Mr. Joseph Blaney, Esqr.'s hill, but passed in the negative. Voted that the place for a meeting-house shall be on the land that Mr. Joseph Blaney, Esqr., Mr. Paul Little and Mr. Thomas Barker purchased of Mr. Thomas Millions for that purpose. Voted that the house be fifty feet long and forty feet wide. Voted that two hundred pounds be raised for building purposes. Voted that if any man should advance more than his part of the tax towards building the meeting-house, he shall be repaid out of the sale of the pews."

From some cause these votes were not carried into effect, and at their next town meeting, held September 26, 1787, they voted to build the house by subscription, but it passed in the negative. Voted to build on the lot purchased by Esquire Blaney and others, and that the house be forty-six feet long and thirty-six feet wide. "Voted that if any person or persons have a mind to make an addition to said house it shall be their private property." Now if any good feeling had heretofore existed, this last vote utterly destroyed the last vestige, and Esquire Blaney, Capt. Barker and other influential men were most soundly berated and accused of all manner of misdemeanors, chief of which was a plan to get possession of the parish property and convert it to their own use. So the whole affair resulted in a total failure to build a house of worship.

About this time the war took on a different aspect. So while we find no record of any attempt to erect a meeting-house for the next two years, the records abound in resolutions in regard to the calling of councils to settle differences of opinion between the people and their pastor, which culminated at an ecclesiastical council, held in the old fort, October 8, 1790, when the connection which had so long existed between Rev. Mr. Smith and the people here was dissolved. At the same time the council frankly told the people that in order to promote their religious edification it was necessary for them to build a house for the public worship of God, but nothing appears to have been done in regard to the matter until December 10, 1794, when they voted to see if the town would agree on a spot for a meeting-house near Mr. Paul Little, Jr.'s, but passed in the negative. This spot was the one so often referred to as "Mr. Osgood's hill." At the same meeting they voted the spot should be near Mr. Robert Millions', after which they adjourned.

In the course of the year 1795, this troublesome affair, which had lasted for more than thirty years, was finally settled, and a meeting-house was erected on the lot before referred to as the one purchased by Joseph Blaney and others for that purpose, and no more beautiful location could have been decided upon within the town limits. It contained two acres on the summit of a noble elevation of land from whence an extended view of the surrounding country was visible on all sides. The house was built according to the vote, fifty feet long and forty feet wide, two stories

high, with a double row of windows, and was finished throughout in the same severe style of Orthodox churches, then common in New England. It remained the principal center of religious interest in the town for about forty years, or until 1834, when a church edifice was erected at Windham Hill, but as some of the church members still lived near the old tabernacle, services were held there a part of the time for several years. After these had joined the silent majority the old church stood deserted and alone until 1861, when it was sold, and now (1897) does duty as a barn in the south part of the town.

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THE INDIAN'S ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

THE SEQUEL TO THE WISCASSET TRAGEDY.¹

BY REV. HENRY O. THAYER.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 24, 1898.

OF the North American Indians, our historian, Bancroft, remarks, that their forms of government grew out of their passions and their wants; that in the lack of public justice each man was his own protector and became his own avenger.

As with barbarous peoples generally, the principle of their jurisprudence was the *lex talionis*, blood for blood, harm for harm; yet the severity of this law was sometimes mitigated, whether by mercy or by greed,

¹ Vide p. 81, ante.

and substantial property equivalents were allowed to atone for injuries, and a sufficiency of gifts was applied to cover the blood of the slain.

When from the Superior Court for York County Obadiah Albee, Jr., went out free from the law, the aggrieved tribes had reasons to be surprised and indignant. The white man's justice seemed a failure, his execution of law required by the treaty, a fraud. When the chiefs and the relatives of the dead and wounded men returned from Boston, the presents they bore were not by all esteemed equivalents for injuries under mortal assault, nor adequate atonement for the great wrong. The chiefs had spoken to the Council their kindly word at parting: "We hope your Honors will teach your young men better and not to be active in such ill practises, and we shall endeavor to persuade our young men to do nothing ill for the future, now this affair is so well made up." Their promises, hearty and sincere, could not remove angry feeling in the wigwams and hunting-grounds of Maine. The fiercer, intractable spirits in the tribes did not regard the blood on the ground as yet covered by the gifts and fine speeches at Boston. These, in their sharp resentments, in belief that no justice could be expected, in their restlessness, in their native love of raids and plunder, and under malign influence of the French, found motives to administer justice according to Indian methods.

A band is marching through the wood
Where rolls the Kennebec his flood ;
The warriors of the wilderness,
Painted, and in their battle dress ;

And Whittier's honored pen might as well have joined these lines to another theme, and enshrined in verse the grievous tale of the Whidden-Noble captivity in the month of September, 1750, hardly twelve weeks after the acquittal of Albee.

Lying between the two channels of the cleft Kennebec was Swan Island¹ a range of high lands joined with graded slopes and rich meadows. It had been the reputed home of the chief, Kennebis. It early attracted settlers; was named Garden Island. Against the northern end across the channel was located Fort Richmond, the only fortified post then maintained on the river. Some three miles below on the southern part of the island was the home of James Whidden. It stood near the eastern channel on what was then called Indian Point. With him dwelt his son-in-law, Lazarus Noble. The two families, with house and farm help, numbered sixteen. The Indians who set out to execute their unwritten law, representing the Norridgewock and St. Francis tribes, chose Fort Richmond and vicinity for their exploit. About sixty in number, a part struck the intended blow at this home on Swan Island, the rest ambushed the fort.

Captain Whidden's petition to the government, now extant in the Massachusetts Archives, recites the main features of the surprise :—

May 29, 1751. The memorial of James Whidden of Swan Island in Merrymeeting Bay, Humbly Sheweth That in the late Excursion of the Indians on the Eighth day of September last, early in the morning his House was surrounded with a Party of Indians

¹ For map and descriptions, vide *Maine Historical Collections*, 1894, p. 129.

to the Number of Twenty or therabouts, who in a hostile manner did enter into his House, destroying and plundering all his Furniture and carried away all they could of any Value ; Your Memorialist with his wife saved themselves by getting down the Cellar which they had but time to do without putting on their Cloaths to cover their Nakedness. That your Memorialist had two sons carried into Captivity and sold in Canada.¹

He adds that his daughter and husband, with seven children, three sons and four daughters, ages from fourteen years to eight months, were taken and also two servants, Jabez Chubb and Hannah Holmes.

Lazarus Noble presents the same facts when returned from his captivity he petitions for state aid to deliver his remaining children. He states that the assaulting party was sixteen, and being in their custody was able to tell correctly.

When we recall the atrocities of former wars — as at Deerfield, Dover, York, Falmouth — we may admit consideration or mercy in this case. But mercy was policy ; conditions had changed ; captures at Quebec were more valuable than scalps ; the Indians could retaliate sufficiently without bloodshed and be the richer by the sale of the prizes of this venture. Yet, how pitiful the facts : — a whole family, parents and seven children, driven from their beds in a comfortable home and immediately set on the march for Canada ; and one, a little babe, too young to know its wretched lot, while on older brothers and sisters fell the terror and hardship in the dread passage of the wilderness ; and then to be separated, a family torn apart, even the babe from the mother's arms, not all

¹ Massachusetts Archives, Vol. lxxiv, p. 18.

ever to meet again, but to be scattered here and there in the French domain by the great river.

Samuel Denny, faithful magistrate, at once reports the occurrence to the governor, and adds an incident, that Mr. Whidden and wife, while in the cellar, able to listen to all that occurred, heard their oldest granddaughter ask the enemy to let her go into the house for a bottle of milk for the baby.

The next stage in this raid of retaliation is shown by the report of the commander at Fort Richmond, Captain William Lithgow. He writes that at ten o'clock, Captain Whidden hailed the fort from the island, and when brought over with his wife, told of the sacking of their home and of thirteen captives already several hours onward in their foreboding journey. Lithgow at once fired the customary alarm ; an answer came back in the yells of savages who were in ambush about the fort, hoping to surprise it. The heavy gun signified discovery, and now openly they began their hateful work, killing cattle and firing on the fort. After three hours they desisted from their hopeless siege and departed. They had burnt the house and haystacks of Widow Weymouth, living near, and gotten one prisoner, Philip Jenkins, who had gone out of the fort in the early morning. The fort was then poorly manned, only seven soldiers. A few families residing near must have taken refuge within it, adding a few men to the number. Also, fortunately, Mr. Samuel Goodwin, directing the survey for the company of the Kennebec Purchase, had

come in with his party on the previous evening and added eight men to the defense. A rumor had prevailed of a threatened Indian invasion from the north. Rev. "Parson" Smith of Falmouth wrote on September 8:¹ "An alarm in the night. . . . an express from Richmond that an Indian had told that in 48 hours the Indians would break on us and that sixty Canada Indians had come to reinforce them." Two days later he wrote: "We hear that on Saturday [8th.] all Kennebec was in a blaze firing guns." It is evident a warning had been given on Friday afternoon, which brought into the shelter of the fort all the people but those who had no confidence in the friendly Indian's report. It proved true the next morning, and Commander Lithgow estimated his assailants at about forty. The other party at Swan Island would carry the whole number to some sixty. French reports support this number.

On the next day they extended their incursion to Wiscasset itself, sweeping along the Sheepscot and into the adjacent sections. Denny, of Arrowsic, wrote the governor on the tenth: "No doubt the settlements at Wiscasset was attacked yesterday by the number of guns heard;" and then set out a zealous leader of fighting men for the place where nine months before he had gone a peaceful magistrate in the name of the law. Details of those days of terror are not preserved. William Ross and son were captured at Sheepscot, an abandoned garrison burned, while reckless mischief in injuring property marked

¹ Journal, page 144.

the track¹ of the marauders. On the tenth of September John Martin was seized at Brunswick and made one of this company of captives. Harrassing fear laid its scourge upon the hearts of the people as they recalled Asserimo's threat, that "all will not be well." The avenger had now come. He swept through the district where his people had suffered; he intended no bloodshed; he laid his hand severely here and there, and the cowering prisoner followed his haughty master into the forests of the north. The savage had appealed for justice; he has now answered his own appeal; he has administered law by his ancient method; he has exacted the penalty due to crime; he will be content.

There was no doubt of the meaning of this incursion. A month later, October 10, Lieutenant Bradbury, in command at St. George's River, wrote that two Penobscots had made him a visit, and told him that the Indians who took those at Swan Island and elsewhere are gone satisfied, as they say, and will hunt us no more. A few months later, the captive Martin returning from Canada, reported the Indians' reason for the bitter foray—"because the English made war first by firing on their men and killing one and wounding one." The charge was indeed true;

¹ The conflict occurring at this time offers the most probable origin of the legend of Hockamock, whatever that event was. By the advance of Capt. Denny's company from the south and a pursuing party from Wiscasset at the north, a few Indians, evading both, might be turned and driven upon that noted peninsula. There, hemmed in by valiant men, they must fight or swim. Brought to bay on that precipitous height, an Indian, hopeless of escape, might have chosen in self-immolation rather to leap into the Sasanoa's flood than to be taken. Two guns found there—one some twenty-five years ago, declared to be of French construction, such as Indians were likely to have:—give evidence of a hostile meeting at some time. The leap with despairing, superstitious cry, O Hockamock, is within the limits of probability.

the governor in several messages to them acknowledged "the rashness and folly of some of our young men in killing one of theirs." The reckless assault at Wiscasset cast upon the English the imputation of having begun war. Nor did this reprisal — near a score of captives — heal the breach. They wished excuse for raiding and plundering; they now had it; they could regard treaty stipulations void; and impelled by their own restlessness and French instigation were eager to harass the English.

The spring of 1751 opened with fresh incursions: near the end of May three boys were captured in North Yarmouth, and in June a man was killed in Falmouth; then only twenty days after the trial of Ball and Ledite, for which now they doubtless cared little, a party assailed Fort Richmond, killed cattle, terrorized the people, and not two weeks later seized seven men at New Meadows — one killed in escaping.

In thirteen months following the disappointing trial of Obadiah Albee, at least two men were killed, two captives died, and twenty-four were consigned to that repellant prison — as many regarded it — Canada. In this way did the Indian testify to his resentment for wrongs suffered. He destroyed property, and laid perturbing fear upon farmer, woodsman, traveler, housewife. The active but ambushed hand of the skulking enemy caused the paralysis of business, increased military vigilance and expenditure, anxiety in the governor and his officers, and the repression of enterprise busied in laying foundations for a state. Such was the train of evils evolved by one wanton crime.

The Swan Island captives fairly represent in subsequent fortunes the hundreds who likewise suffered in the last wars. The prizes of their forays the Indians customarily sold to such as would buy. Generous French residents in pity rescued the captives. Some in that way found servants at low price. Some captives were allowed to work out their redemption, as early New England immigrants paid their passage money. Some were able to borrow the needful amount, and usually obtained freedom for the price paid the captors. There were those who became greatly attached to their new homes and friends and refused to leave them. Some, mostly young persons, were adopted by the Indians, who became strongly attached, and refused to part with them. A portion of the captives—how many, none may say—were really “lost”; no word nor trace ever told their fate.

Negotiations were carried on with the French government for the release of the captives, and in April, 1751, notice came from Quebec that a party would be sent to Crown Point in May. I have found no names of those then redeemed, but conclude Lazarus Noble and wife and four children were in the list, and the young man and woman who had been in their employment, Jabez Chubb and Hannah Holmes. Mr. Ross and son of Sheepscot were probably released at this time. Theirs was a pitiable case, for four years after Mr. Ross and two sons were sold again in Canada. Of Mr. Whidden's sons—young men evidently—Timothy was sold at Three Rivers, and there by Captain Phineas Stevens, agent for seeking captives, furnished

with money for his purchase and journey to Boston, where he arrived early in April. He and a companion in those tribulations, Hannah Holmes, by marriage — September, 1751 — became companions for life. Solomon Whidden, the brother, escaped from his captors, and reached Quebec. The governor would not return him to them, but declared him free, and gave him liberty to work, yet advising him to keep clear of the Indians. But, attacked by sickness, he died in hospital, November, 18, 1750. Philip Jenkins, taken near Richmond Fort, was another to succumb to disease, and died about a month after arrival.

An original record by Quebec officials furnished the agent, Captain Stevens, has further information respecting the Swan Island raid and its victims.¹

A List of the English Prisoners which the Abenakis Indians have brought to Quebec.

The St. François Indians to the number of forty have struck near Richmond Fort to Revenge the death of an Abenakis chief which the English have killed near Boston & have brought in this City the Prisoners following which they have sold to the French who was willing to buy them.

The Sieur Chalour has bought one named		
	Lazarus Noble,	200
ret. ²	For cloaths for	40
		— 240
	The S. Revolt has bo't Jabez Chub,	200
ret.	for cloaths for	80
		— 280
	The S. Turpine has bo't John Ross,	150
ret.	for cloaths for,	50
		— 200

¹ Massachusetts Archives, Vol. LXXIV, page 57.

² This marginal check-mark shows the captives who at that date were returned.

Mrs. Decouagne has bo't [Mrs.] Abigail Noble for	260
for cloaths for	122.15
	382.15
Mrs. Dupere has bo't Anna Homes for	200
ret. for cloaths for	50
	250
The S. Bazin has bo't Philip Jenkins,	150
for cloaths for	100
	250

This man died at the hosp. 28th Oct. 1750.

Those which follow have been taken by the Becancourt Indians and bo't of them.

The Cadet bo't John Martin, he has obtained permission of the Governor General to return to N. Eng. and passed his note to the S. Cadet¹ for 260.
ret.

Mrs. Fernel has bo't	
ret. Wm. Ross,	124.10
ret. John Noble,	150
ret. Maria Noble [i. e. Mary]	184.10
for cloaths for	100
	559

Ten Algonkins of the same party has bo't & sold to the S. Amiol, Mathew Noble	86
for cloaths for	130.15
	216.15

One named Solomon Whitney [Whidden] made his escape from amongst the Indians to whom the Governor General was not willing to give him back again, he died at the hospital 18th Nov. 1750.

Seth Webb }
Joseph Noble } are at St. François.

Frances Noble at Mountreal with Mr. St. Ange.	
Bought for	300
ret. Benj. Noble is at La Prairie with Du May	
bought	200

¹ Without doubt Joseph Cadet, commissary-general, made the richest man in Canada by fraud and peculations. At Paris, 1761, with other conniving rascals committed to the Bastille, and on trial forced to disgorge six million francs. See Parkman's Montcalm and Wolfe, Vol. II.

ret.¹ Abigail Noble at Becan Court

Timothy Whitney [Whidden] bo't & paid 315

This account taken from Capt. Stevens List Feb'y 1st, 1752.

N. WHEELWRIGHT.

[Endorsed.] A List of Captives bo't by French at Canada, their cost and cloathing.²

In June, 1752, Phineas Stevens and Nathaniel Wheelright, who doubtless had been the commissioners of release the previous year, were sent for the same purpose to Canada; were kindly received and accorded every facility to prosecute search for captives. They regained eight only. Of these were Lombard (Lambert) and Whitney, taken at New Meadows, and Samuel Webb of Windham. Their report showed thirteen others remaining, so far as they made discovery.³ Six of these chose to stay; the owners of three would give them up in exchange for slaves. They include also, "Joseph Noble, Daniel Mitchell, John Forster, taken by the Abenakis of St. François, who are obstinately set on keeping them whatever solicitation Mons. Rigaud de Vaudreuil could use, they having adopted them." Likewise Solomon Mitchell, the elder of the two sons of Mr. Mitchell of North Yarmouth, "about twelve years old, absolutely resolved to stay at Mountroyal with Sieur Des Pins and Mons. Longeuil did not think he ought to force him away against his will."

¹ This checkmark, ret., was manifestly misplaced and designates the wrong Abigail. No. 4 in the foregoing list is Mrs. Abigail Noble, but this is the little child that never returned.

² The prices paid are reckoned in livres. The French livre was then valued at nearly 10½ pence sterling. The usual price of adults, 200 livres, was therefore £8, 15s., or in early New England currency, about \$29.

³ Massachusetts Archives, Vol. LXXIV, p. 62. French copy, Vol. V, p. 542.

The return of the commissioners brought a heavy disappointment to the Noble family. Three of the dear flock still remained in hostile hands under the French flag. Persistent in hope and strenuous endeavor, Mr. Noble proposed in conjunction with Mr. Mitchell, to go himself to search and regain his own. Provided with money for expenses granted by the General Court, and Gov. Phips' passport, in the summer of 1753, they set out by way of Albany and Crown Point. At Montreal they gained an immediate interview with the commandant, had a cheering reception and were dismissed to their lodgings with instructions to hasten to procure the children. On that first day happily Mr. Mitchell discovered one son, and their interpreter saw a daughter of Mr. Noble. At six o'clock the next morning came an officer bearing an order for them to depart at once. In an attempt to see the commandant and learn the reasons for the changed treatment, they were denied an interview and with threat of imprisonment if delaying were sent instantly out of the city and across the river. Certainly in a sense of a rude and cruel blasting of blossoming hopes, the amazed and heart-stricken fathers made their journey home. Governor Phips returned a vigorous remonstrance against such inhuman and dishonorable treatment of persons on a merciful errand, bearing credentials from the highest authority of the Province. The reply¹ December 1, 1753, from the commander, Du Quesne, was courteous to Governor Phips and expressive of true sympathy

¹ Massachusetts Archives, Vol. V., p. 558.

for the distressed fathers. His explanation relieved the case somewhat. He declared that their interpreter, Anthony Van Schaick of Albany, was a suspected person liable to arrest, who had on entering the city, at once put on insolent airs and by his conduct made himself very obnoxious, and that he would have been put in prison if he had not quickly departed. Du Quesne avowed his sincere interest in these anxious men and that in his desire to aid them he had summoned Mitchell's son and reproached him with his bad temper in refusing to return with his father. But in answer, the boy, bursting into tears, declared absolutely that he would not leave his master. Strange that two years in a boy of twelve should have so obliterated regard for his father and desire for his lost home.

Presuming Du Quesne's explanation sincere, yet one will ask why not expel the interpreter alone, disclose the facts to the men and aid them? But a haughty governor would not stoop very much, yet he seems needlessly harsh, even cruelly despotic, to drive them from his house without explanation. Van Schaick also, if knowing or inferring the reasons for the stern order, could keep his employers in the dark and save his credit. So there was no appeal, no relief; their hopes were crushed on the very threshold of success. Nathaniel Wheelwright carried back the governor's protest and demand, and to him Du Quesne with compliments delivered two children held by the French, but declared he had no control over those held by the Indians for they were not prisoners of war but truly "slaves fairly sold" and could only be

obtained by treaty and ransom. Further, he affirmed, "Nothing so difficult as to get slaves from them, especially when they have distributed them among their wigwams to make up for their dead."

Agents and diplomacy proved of no avail; Lazarus Noble and wife still mourned their lost, and the years went by—can we say without hope? Joseph, a boy of eight at capture, grew in his wild surroundings to become thoroughly Indian, attached to his new friends and mode of life. Abigail, the little babe adopted and cherished by an Indian mother, was never restored, and in after years the family gained intelligence of her death.

One other of this broken family was Frances or "Fanny." She came into the care of a fine family at Montreal and remained in captivity eleven years. After the fall of Quebec, the provincial governments took measures to recover all prisoners. In 1761, Captain Samuel Harnden, the sheriff in the Wiscasset affair, made a journey to Canada to search out two grandsons who had been in captivity three years. He also applied his efforts in behalf of other afflicted parents, and did obtain Fannie Noble. An interpreter privately discovered her, in the care of Mons. St. Toise, but in a nunnery for her education. Harnden, acting with shrewdness and vigor, obtained "a sight of the girl," and on the next day, August 24, as his journal of the service tersely adds, "I took her out of the nunnery." The day following he embarked for Quebec, and after detention there by a broken arm of a grandson, they arrived in Boston, October 4.

Some seventy-five years ago was published a brief account of the Swan Island incursion joined with a detailed narrative of Fanny Noble's captivity.¹ It was drawn from her own recollections when nearly seventy years of age.

The particulars of the capture were laid up in memory only from what was told her a dozen years after, and as the story took shape in that generation.

The Whidden-Noble family was in a house protected by a stockade; boys, in the morning, left the gate unfastened. If a reliable account, the "boys" must have been Captain Whidden's sons, going out early and seized abroad; then entrance for the waiting crew was easy. Mr. Noble fired upon the assailants and wounded one. It is a wonder that his life was spared, yet the man would be worth more than his scalp in the market. The captors were very kind to the children, expecting a large ransom. The Indians were reported to be ninety, — one of the variable numbers of the traditions; the hired man and two boys escaped; but there could have been only one that escaped. An old man Pomeroy was taken on the island, and, on account of his feebleness, was killed on the march; — but this man, William Pomeroy, was killed in 1758, when a son and grandson were made captives.

Still does the narrator make very engaging, even pathetic, with lines of romance, the story of Fanny's childhood, as a little flower growing by the Kennebec

¹ Farmer and Moore's *Historical Collections*, Volume I, pp. 116-123; Narrative of Mrs. Shute's captivity. Also in Drake's *Tragedies of the Wilderness*.

was rudely torn from native soil and transplanted in the ancient city by the St. Lawrence.

A dirty, unkempt child, by viler hands offered for sale, in hunger picking fragments from the kitchen floor; at the entrance of the mistress of the house, seeing a motherly face, seizing her dress and bursting into tears—so was the lady's heart won, and the little girl taken into the place of a daughter, who had died;—such is the tale of those terrible days. For her the Indians exacted three hundred livres, a larger sum than for her mother or others of the captives. This was the home of Mons. St. Ange Chaily,¹ a wealthy, generous merchant—the one who told Captain Stevens, when recovering captives, that none should be left behind for lack of money, for he would furnish it.

In this home she became truly a daughter, was baptized by the name Eleanor, trained, of course, in the Romish faith and forms, educated in the nunnery at Montreal, and for one year at an Ursuline school at Quebec. Her mother, when ransomed, visited her, only to be coldly repulsed; a strange man, one day at the window, looked at her and beckoned with strange words, from whom she fled in terror. It was her own father,² when he came for his children and was driven back. She barely escaped being taken home by Mr. Wheelright, who gained possession of her, but at Three Rivers where he sought others, she was stolen

¹ There is an unexplained difficulty in the names. Capt. Harnden found the captive in the care of Mons. St. Toise, as she had been when her father sought her. The aged woman gives this name, St. Ange. Her memory may have confounded the two, giving him who befriended captives the chief place.

² Or his agent, the interpreter.

away by a cunning squaw, secreted for a time, frustrated in an attempt to escape, then returned to her foster parents for a new ransom. She was a few times visited by her brother, Joseph, decked out in richest Indian dress and adornments. He was finally purchased from the Indians by Mons. St. Ange and educated at Montreal, but protested to his sister not to tell where he was when she returned, lest he too should be forced away. Search was still made for him in after years, and it was believed by his brothers that he became a priest, and by change of name was effectively concealed.

It was a day of alarm and anguish when the strange man, Harnden,¹ made demand for her, having, as the story shows, a file of soldiers at the door. No evasions or delays by the nuns would avail; trembling and wretched she was forced away. Yet a visit to her foster parents was permitted, who, grievously pained by the separation, bestowed on her money and clothing, with an affecting farewell. On arrival in Boston, Fannie Noble was one month less than fourteen years old. The party had gratuitous passage from Quebec in the brigantine Triton, commanded by Capt. George Wilson. After twelve days' waiting, a vessel was found sailing to the Kennebec, and the long-mourned captive was restored to her island home, October 20, 1761. But disappointment attended the joy of the family, for Abigail, the little babe when carried away, did not also come. That she had already died in

¹ In this narrative given the name Arnold, a strange perversion, but very frequent in books and records of that century.

her Indian home is an inference from Mrs. Shute's narrative.

To learn to speak English was Fanny's first regard ; then by an English education to supplement attainments gained in the nuns' school at Montreal. She spent some time in Capt. Wilson's family in Boston, presumably in her schooldays. She engaged in teaching, also rendered assistance in the families of friends, and was married in 1776 to Jonathan Tilton. A second marriage followed in 1801 with John Shute of Newmarket, New Hampshire, where she resided till death, in 1819, aged about seventy-two years.

Notice also must not fail of a narrative of the Swan Island raid, written by Rev. Jacob Bailey, "The Frontier Missionary."¹ It can safely be asserted that he drew the materials of his sketch from memory and gave it shape by traditions prevailing more than a score of years after the event when the chief sufferers by it were dead. They had been in his parish to which he came in 1760, and had he made memoranda of their statements his account would have been more trustworthy. He writes: "Seventy Penobscot Indians," but these were friendly and Mr. Noble had declared the party to be Norridgewocks. He tells that one hundred and fifteen Indians assaulted the fort. Captain Lithgow estimated them forty. He tells that the Whidden family, with some neighbors, were at the time engaged in a frolic ; yet it was at daylight on a September morning and a savage incursion

¹ Copied from his MS. history and published in the Richmond Bee, April 12, 1886, by Mr. Charles E. Allen of Dresden.

threatening ; also what became of those neighbors ? He says that Mr. Noble in firing on the assailants " did no execution " ; also " one fellow at the barn for eggs escaped." This one, therefore, with Whidden and wife made up the three saved, for Mr. Goodwin wrote, that thirteen out of sixteen were taken. Mr. Bailey introduces a ridiculous story without comment, that the man sent over the river at Captain Whidden's call to take him from the island became so excited at the intelligence given, that he hastened back alone and reported Captain Whidden and all his family killed, for he heard it from Whidden's own mouth. He tells that Jenkins, the captive, was a religious enthusiast and believed God would protect him, and went out of the fort against advice ; also he assigns this man's death to " a French prison," not the hospital. He tells that two thousand dollars were offered to Mr. Harnden by her foster parents if he would allow Frances Noble to stay at Montreal. He writes that the captive, Joseph Noble, settled in Canada and married. This must have been a guess, for Fannie had not learned it when she was restored, and afterward his brothers searched for him in vain. By evident lack of discrimination in his materials he lowers the tone and worth of his narrative, which in main features agree with fact.

Further details respecting this distressed family are desirable to supplement the story of the captivity.

James Whidden represented a New Hampshire family, and was in command of state troops in 1745-46 at Louisburg. He became owner of Swan Island by deed of April 15, 1750, and is therein styled " of

Portsmouth, N. H. gentleman." If in the Indian trade, as Mrs. Shute's account suggests, he may have gone to the island in a previous year, but evidently only with that spring did the two families remove to the new home. The house of the former owner received them. But enterprise and hope fell in cruel wreck before they fully gathered a first harvest from that "Garden Island" of the Kennebec. When the autumn grew sere and bare Captain Whidden and wife were alone and desolate in their ravaged home.

This purchase also came at an unpropitious period. The strong, grasping Plymouth Company was about to lay claim to all Kennebec lands. The demand was pressed on him, and from it and threatened suits at law he only freed himself by accepting, in 1756, their grant of about one-quarter of the island—three hundred and twenty-five acres—and surrendering the rest. After the settlement he sold a portion and conveyed other portions to his son and daughter. Mrs. Shute's narrative should be correct, that he returned to New Hampshire, to the town of Greenland. Certainly his death occurred before 1770. His wife, Mary, was living in 1758.

On the tract, eighty acres, given Mrs. Noble by her father, a house was built, in which the family was dwelling when the deed was written, October 7, 1758. Taught by bitter experience, Mr. Noble now sought security by a protecting stockade. Mrs. Shute implies that Capt. Whidden's dwelling was thus protected at the assault. A doubt arises. The distinction between a "garrison" and an ordinary house was

nearly always observed. Three deeds term it a "house," also his report to the government has only "my house." A plan of the survey¹ exhibits both dwellings, designates Noble's as a "garrison-house," gives outlines of the stockade, but shows Whidden's as simply a "house." Doubtless the later garrison misled Mrs. Shute's memory.

Capt. Whidden's house and barn were situated at "Indian Point" as then termed, and the evidence by the plan of survey can hardly fail to place them at a point nearly over against "Beef Rock" in the river. But aged people of the passing generation quite confidently name this one, Sandy Point, and the next below, Indian Point.² Some change of name has occurred in one hundred and fifty years; or relief of difficulty may be found in the view that the whole extended promontory pushing eastward upon the river held originally the name, "Indian Point," and subsequently making localities more exact, a new name was applied at the northern angle, and the old carried down to the southern angle of the promontory, and the two names, Sandy and Indian, got mooring four-score or more years ago, as the witnesses avow.

¹ It is thus subscribed:—

This plan is a copy of Land laid out on the South End of Swan Island in Kennebeck River & granted to Capt. James Whedden by the Proprs. of the Kennebeck Purchase. . . . Nov. 3, 1756. . . .

Divided by sd. James Whedden into three Tracts & conveyed: . . .

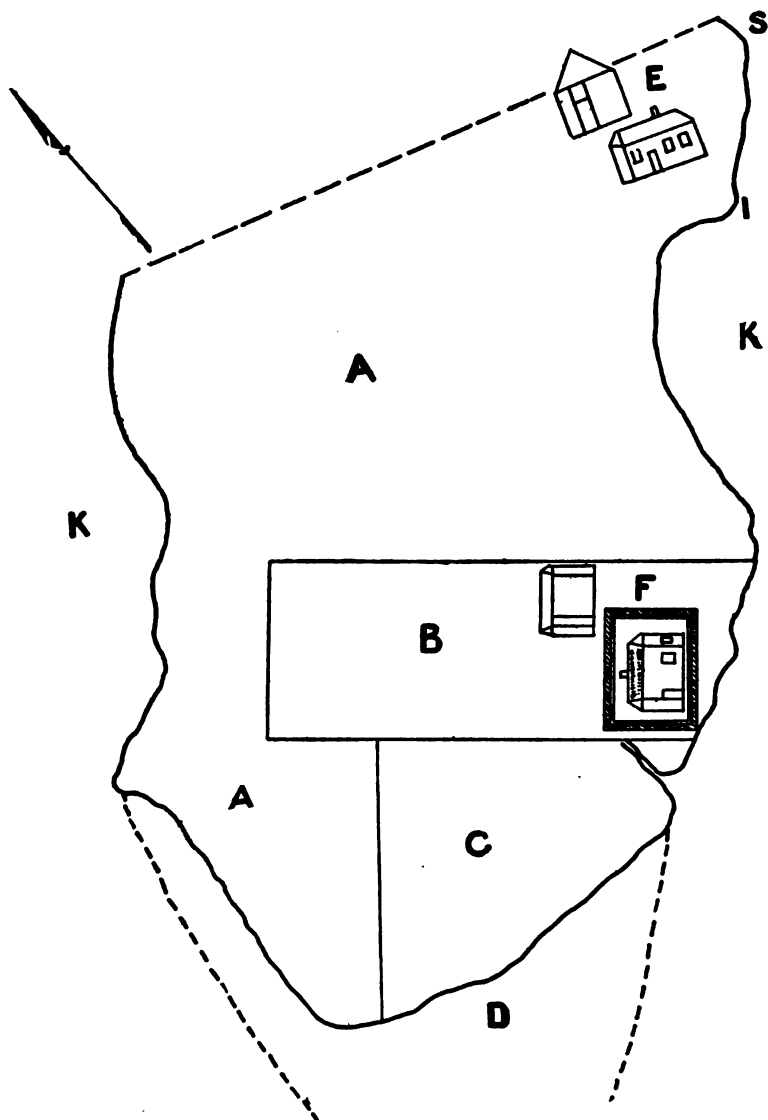
1. 80 ac. to Mrs. Abagiel Noble, Oct. 7, 1758.
2. 50 ac. to Mr. James Wyman, Oct. 9, 1758.
3. All the rest to Mr. Timothy Whedden, Oct. 10, 1758.

Attest, James Whidden,

In presence of

Wm. Macclenachan
Joshua Bickford.

² Careful inquiries made and much aid rendered in regard to the topography by Mr. W. H. Sturtevant of Richmond.



REDUCED PLAN OF SURVEY ON RECORD IN REGISTRY OF DEEDS OF
YORK COUNTY, MAINE.

A Timo. Whidden's Land. B Abigail Noble's Do. C James Wyman Do.
D River Flats covered at high water. E Capt. James Whidden's House and Barn.
F Lazarus Noble's garrison house and barn. S Sandy Point. I Indian Point. KK
Kennebec River, E & W channels.

The point the northerly, over against "Beef Rock," reveals depressions indicating cellars formerly, and a little above were graves now obliterated. The home of the Noble family was three-fourths of a mile below, near a gully and a marsh, which make in northerly from the river. Here still appear signs of cellars and a well, where unvarying tradition has located the Noble house, in full agreement with the features of the old survey. One tradition asserts that a block-house once stood on the present Indian Point, where now is an ice-house. The story may have arisen by misplacing the site of Noble's "garrison," but if it had any value, it will best be satisfied by the earlier occupation, 1715-1722, when for a time soldiers were stationed on the island.¹

It is presumed that the Noble family, broken and diminished, continued their home on the island for many years. Mrs. Noble was living in 1758, and her son's sale of land in 1770 mentions his mother, "lately deceased." Lazarus Noble died before February, 1767, as then an administrator on his estate was appointed. But Frances chose a guardian, January, 1764 (unless the date is an error) which furnishes strong presumptions though not final evidence, that her father was then already deceased. Rev. Mr. Bailey tells that at Frances' return from Canada he was "melancholy and distracted, lived in a miserable hovel, surrounded with wretchedness and poverty"—a story much exaggerated, it seems, for how had the garrison house become a hovel, and his sons, were they not able, and did they not assure him a comfortable home? Indeed,

¹ Maine Historical Collections, 1893, p. 250-251, 1894, p. 132.

his property, not real estate, by the inventory was twenty-one pounds, twelve shillings, four pence. One statement, unverified, tells of his return to New Hampshire after the captivity, but all else learned of him supports the opinion that he and his wife continued in their island home till death, and that after a troubled life, their mortal remains were laid to rest in that burial place at Sandy Point. An aged woman now living, found many years ago among the evidences of a graveyard, a broken gravestone bearing the name Noble.

Of the son Matthew, who returned from captivity, I have discovered no further trace, and an early death must be presumed. The daughter Mary by a conveyance of her right of heirship in Mrs. Noble's estate, is shown to have married Caleb Goodwin.

Two sons remain for notice, Benjamin and John. Conveyances of land in the island and vicinity to them and by them in the years 1763, 1766, 1769, 1770, indicate their residence there in that decade, and their final disposal of rights by heirship to their mother's estate. They removed to Pittston about 1770; but later became first settlers of the town of Fairfield, their residence for the remainder of their lives. Marriage intentions were entered in Pownalborough (which comprised Swan Island) 1782, February 15 — "Benjamin Noble of on Kennebeck River and Sarah Doe." Doubtless he was now resident in Fairfield. His age suggests this was a second marriage. Family tradition tells that John married Tamar Chase, probably at Pownalborough; also that he had but two

children, while ten were numbered to Benjamin. Descendants are now residing in the state and abroad, whose family lines cannot here be traced.¹

Timothy Whidden, to whom his father conveyed his house and a large part of his land, in the course of years became very poor and solicited, as Rev. Mr. Bailey's papers show, charity from the Episcopal church funds. His widow became the second wife of Jonathan Emery, the first settler in the town of Fairfield. Rev. Peter Coffin, in his diary of missionary tours,² writes that Mrs. Emery told him the story of the captivity and describing the hard fare, said, "When musquash was the diet she was forced to fast."

The ages of part of the Noble children are shown; the others can be quite nearly inferred, if we notice the order of names in the foregoing list of captives, which seems to be from the adults downwards, according to age. We know the eldest was fourteen and can assign the place to John or Mary. Joseph was eight, and the little one, Abigail, six months, while Frances lacked one month of fourteen in October, 1761. Hence this list, probably correct within less than a year. Mathew and Benjamin may need to change place, or perhaps Mary and John.

John, born in 1736; Mary, 1738; Matthew, 1740; Joseph, 1742; Benjamin, 1744-45; Frances, November, 1747; Abigail, March, 1750.

In the "Noble Genealogy," p. 743, this family is given a place, but without connection with any other

¹ Letters of Dr. Alfred I. Noble, Worcester, Mass., and others.

² Collections Maine Historical Society, Vol. IV, p. 280.

family, nor tracing descendants. Evidently it was drawn from Mrs. Shute's narrative, as the incorrect date of the captivity and the age of Frances are repeated. It presumes that Lazarus Noble was of Scottish descent. From another source it is learned that the family history reveals a Lazarus Noble in 1660 at Portsmouth, N. H., who was probably the grandfather of the unfortunate settler on Swan Island in the Kennebec.

YORK NECROLOGY.

COPIED from "A Book of Mortality" in possession of Mr. J. H. Moody, parish clerk, York, Me., consisting of four sheets of letter paper inscribed as above. The paper is yellow with age, and the name of the writer is not given, although after the name of Mr. Abram Lunt are the words "my ho. father," (a subsequent entry) and a later death is recorded as "my hon'd mother." The fourteen inside pages are closely written and the deaths are numbered in chronological order, commencing with number 82 in 1775 and closing with number 494 in 1804. On the two outside pages are recorded the deaths of nine persons in 1806 and 1807, also the deaths of five negroes, between 1789 and 1807. For convenience of reference this copy is arranged alphabetically.

MARQUIS F. KING.

Adams, Abigail, April 7, 1798, an aged maiden.

Adams, Abram, November 12, 1801, at West Indies.

Adams, Miss Hannah, January 29, 1800.

- Adams, Mr. Nathaniel, Oct. 15, 1799.
Adams, Mr. Thomas, January, 1799.
Austin, the wife of Benjamin, August 26, 1794.
Austin, Mrs. Ichabod, October 26, 1803, very suddenly.
Austin, Mr. Joseph, March 4, 1779.
Austin, Joseph, April 12, 1785.
Austin, Mr. Mathew, October 21, 1776.
Austin, widow Mercy, January 15, 1802.
Austin, widow Olive, January 16, 1791.
Austin, Tabitha, July 14, 1783.
Babb, Mr. William, January 14, 1800.
Baker, Mr. Itachar, December 2, 1804, age 93.
Baker, Mr. Joseph, November 1, 1793, age 80.
Baker, Stephen, December 3, 1776, drowned off the bridge.
Baker, Miss Tabitha, November 11, 1801.
Baker, Mr. Thomas, November 5, 1801.
Baley, widow, June 29, 1794.
Bane, widow Abigail, September 6, 1778.
Bane, Mr. Ebenezer, April 6, 1803, consumption.
Bane, Mr. Daniel, December 14, 1794.
Bane, Capt. Jonathan, December 6, 1777.
Bane, Mr. Lewis, May 30, 1776.
Bane, widow Mary, May 25, 1795, consumption.
Bane, widow Mary, January 21, 1794, small-pox.
Banks, Betty, October 3, 1782.
Banks, the wife of John, January, 1781.
Banks, John, February 5, 1788, coming from West Indies.
Banks, John, son of Pet, June, 1799.
Banks, widow, April 3, 1785.
Banks, widow, January 11, 1791, age 94.
Beal, Jenny, January 4, 1788.
Beal, Mr. John, June 24, 1800.
Beal, Mr. Richard, May 29, 1804.
Beal, Mr. M. Warren, November 20, 1781.
Beal, widow, February 15, 1803, suddenly.
Beal, wife of the aged Mr. Samuel, January 6, 1789.
Beal, the aged Mr. Samuel, March 9, 1789.

- Bicham, William, October 8, 1782, drowned.
Bicham, widow, November 21, 1793.
Beedle, the wife of Ithamore, February 7, 1798.
Beedle, Mr. Ithamore, March 7, 1803, of palsy, aged 84.
Bell, Mr. John, April 18, 1801, at sea.
Berry, Mr. James, October 13, 1783.
Berry, widow, November 19, 1789.
Black, widow, April 18, 1780.
Blaisdell, deacon, May 22, 1799.
Blaisdell, the aged widow, August 1, 1804.
Booker, widow, April, 1783.
Booker, the wife of Jacob, September 24, 1797.
Booker, the aged widow, February 13, 1801.
Bracy, Mr. Joseph, November 27, 1776.
Bracy, Mr. William, June 26, 1800.
Bradbury, the wife of Cotton, April 27, 1798.
Bradbury, Hon. John, December 3, 1778.
Bradbury, the wife of Hon. John, September 28, 1787.
Bragdon, widow of Charles D., October 7, 1792.
Bragdon, Capt. Daniel, March 6, 1791, age 86.
Bragdon, Henry, son of Capt. T., December 24, 1804.
Bragdon, widow Mary, July 7, 1791.
Bragdon, the aged widow Mercy, September 1, 1797.
Bragdon, Mary, widow of Thomas, January 3, 1785.
Bragdon, Miss Mercy, November 19, 1803.
Bragdon, the wife of Thomas, March 22, 1787.
Bragdon, William, son of Samuel, May 19, 1793.
Bridge, the wife of Benjamin, December 27, 1790.
Bridge, Mr. Benjamin, December 17, 1795.
Bridges, Mr. Edmund, November 28, 1794, age 86.
Bridges, widow, December 22, 1800.
Bowden, Abram, December 23, 1786.
Bowden, widow Mary, April 21, 1790.
Burrell, Humility, January 28, 1776.
Came, the wife of Samuel, July 8, 1778.
Card, William, December 25, 1776.
Carlile, Mr. Alexander, April 13, 1792.

- Carlile, George, April 15, 1795, consumption.
Carlile, Mr. John, October 10, 1779.
Carlile, the wife of Mr. John, July 18, 1797.
Carlile, widow, Margery, December 28, 1798.
Carlile, widow Mary, September 11, 1784.
Carrol, Shasper, October 11, 1803, negro.
Castle, Mary, April 20, 1783.
Caswell, Mr. William, January 22, 1802, aged 90.
Caswell, the wife of William, January 25, 1802, age 80.
Ceaser, negro, October 27, 1800, drowned himself.
Chase, Edward, third son of Josiah, February 26, 1793, occasioned by a stick of wood falling upon his head.
Chase, the aged widow, October 23, 1799, at her son's.
Chatman, widow, May 3, 1802, at I. Ingersol's.
Clark, widow Dorothy, February, 1780.
Clark, Mr. Daniel, August 15, 1795, of fever.
Clark, Samuel, September 17, 1778.
Clark, Samuel, October 19, 1786.
Clements, widow Sarah, May 16, 1785.
Caning, 2nd wife of Dr. Oliver, December 31, 1806.
Coyer, the wife of Edward, April 19, 1786.
Coyer, Mr. Edward and his son Edward were drowned coming into the harbor from the Shoals, Sunday, February 25, 1788.
Crosby, Mr. Stephen, July 19, 1780, coming from the West Indies.
Darby, Ebenezer, March 11, 1781.
Darby, Mr. Silas, December 23, 1782.
Demsey, James, February 28, 1785.
Demsey, widow, February 20, 1789.
Donnell, Capt. James, July 31, 1784.
Donnell, Mrs. Jemima, April 27, 1786.
Donnell, Mr. Jeremiah, August 29, 1804, of consumption.
Donnell, Mr. Jonathan, October 27, 1898.
Donnell, widow Mary, January 27, 1789.
Donnell, Nathaniel, Esq., February 9, 1780.
Donnell, Mr. Nathaniel, October 28, 1783.
Donnell, the wife of Samuel, September 13, 1788.

- Donnell, Mr. Samuel, May 27, 1799, age 82.
Donnell, Mr. Timothy, July 28, 1802, dropsy.
Downs, Joseph, son of S., April 1, 1789.
Downs, the aged widow, November 14, 1791.
Dunning, Mr. William, June 13, 1783.
Elingwood, widow, November 28, 1788.
Emerson, the wife of Edward, May 14, 1793.
Emerson, the wife of Edward, February 28, 1799.
Emerson, Edward, Jr., Esq., October 13, 1803, shot himself.
Emerson, Ruthy of Newburyport, died at York, September 27,
1782.
Farnham, Mr. Jonathan, December 18, 1800.
Fletcher, Mr. John, August 23, 1793.
Foster, widow, June 14, 1776.
Freethy, Mr. Samuel, June 2, 1800.
Frost, Timothy, Esq., September 26, 1783.
Furlong, Mrs. Lucy, daughter of Mr. Grant, December 6, 1804.
Gilman, widow, January 8, 1780.
Goodwin, the wife of Ameziah, March 2, 1778.
Goodwin, the aged widow, April 24, 1797, aged 98.
Grant, the wife of Daniel, July 21, 1779.
Grant, Daniel, April 4, 1784.
Grant, Mr. Joseph, September, 1778.
Grant, the wife of Mr. Joseph, November 4, 1792, soon after
child birth.
Grant, a son of Joseph, August 17, 1798.
Grant, widow Mary, April 12, 1784.
Grant, widow Mercy, May 1, 1793.
Grant, Olive, July 14, 1787.
Grant, Mr. Peter, May 15, 1780.
Grant, the wife of Stephen, November 28, 1802, of consumption.
Grow, Col. Edward, May 5, 1785.
Grow, Capt. William, February 2, 1796.
Grow, Capt. William, November 3, 1797.
Harmon, the wife of John, jr., August 20, 1795.
Harmon, the wife of Capt. John, May 9, 1802.
Harmon, Mr. Nathaniel, January 7, 1797.

- Harmon, Capt. Thomas, June 11, 1800.
Harmon, Theodore, October 4, 1801.
Harmon, Mr. Zebulon, jr., September 14, 1798.
Harmon, the wife of Zebulon, December 4, 1804.
Harris, Joannah, July 10, 1797, of fever.
Harris, Capt. Samuel, November 22, 1793, age 72, found dead
in the pasture, supposed to have died in a fit.
Hains, the wife of Thomas, May 28, 1801.
Haynes, widow Mehitabel, April 13, 1786.
Hayse, widow, November 6, 1789, age 84.
Hicks, widow, March 8, 1801.
Hill, the wife of James, February 5, 1778.
Hill, Nathaniel, March 10, 1797.
Hill, widow Rebecca, February 6, 1800.
Hill, widow, April 4, 1779.
Hill, William, January 15, 1778.
Hilton, a daughter of Eliakim, December 22, 1793.
Hilton, Mr. Eliakim, July 26, 1799.
Holt, Joseph, jr., August 5, 1783.
Holt, Capt. Joseph, May 9, 1784.
Holt, widow Jerusha, September 6, 1802.
Horn, widow, February 12, 1782.
Horn, Mr. Joseph, September 8, 1795.
Horn, widow, July 2, 1799.
Howell, Arthur, May 26, 1779, of small-pox.
Hunt, Mr. William, May 4, 1801.
Ingersol, the wife of George, September 15, 1793.
Ingersol, the wife of George, April 25, 1802.
Ingraham, Mr. Edward, at Kittery, March 6, 1807.
Jacobs, Woodman, May 8, 1781, of small-pox.
Johnson, the wife of Benjamin, March 4, 1799.
Johnson, the wife of Daniel, July 7, 1804.
Junkins, Alexander, October, 5, 1782.
Junkins, Mr. Daniel, May 13, 1792.
Junkins, Capt. John, March 3, 1783.
Junkins, Mr. Samuel, February 7, 1791, of cancer.
Keeting, Richard, July 10, 1783.

Kerswell, the wife of William, late Abigail Varrell, August 3, 1795, of fits.

Kimball, Mrs. Abigail, November 27, 1802, of consumption.

King, Mary, June 22, 1799.

Knox, General at Thomaston, October 26, 1806, age 57, occasioned by his swallowing a chicken bone.

Langdon, the wife of Rev. Samuel, May 4, 1776.

Langdon, Rev. Samuel, December 19, 1794.

Langdon, widow, December 21, 1802, age 82.

Larrabee, widow, May 13, 1790, at J. Main's.

Leavitt, the wife of Dea. Jer'y., January 2, 1793.

Lewis, Lydia, June 13, 1797.

Lewis, Mr. Nathaniel, December, 1781.

Lindsey, Capt. John, November 12, 1801, at West Indies.

Lindsey, widow, November 10, 1776.

Lindsey, Polly, November 6, 1791, of consumption.

Linscott, Mr. Jeremy, December 22, 1798.

Linscott, Mr. Samuel, September 19, 1802.

Littlefield, Josiah and Levi, jr., May 16, 1807, drowned attempting to land at Ogunquit.

Lord, Mr. Jeremiah, December 11, 1801, drowned at Cape Nedick.

Low, Mr. Joseph, jr., August 17, 1806, at Mr. Thomas Louis'.

Low, Timothy, son of T., May 18, 1804.

Low, William, November 3, 1799.

Lovell, widow, May 25, 1784,

Lunt, Mr. Abram, January 9, 1783, my ho. father. My honored mother, January 17, 1796, age 83.

Lunt, Abraham, November 12, 1801, at West Indies.

Lunt, the wife of Henry, August 4, 1788.

Lyman, Dick, April 12, 1807.

Lyman, Dr. Job, March 29, 1791.

Lyman, Ruth, June, 1785.

Mahone, the wife of Thomas, November 26, 1778.

Main, Mr. John, May 26, 1802.

Main, widow of Joseph, December 9, 1797, age 89.

McIntire, Capt. Alexander, May 9, 1786.

- McIntire, Mr. Alexander, July 20, 1804.
McIntire, Mr. Daniel, December 23, 1787.
McIntire, Mr. Ebenezer, April 4, 1796.
McIntire, Capt. Jno., February 19, 1785.
McIntire, the wife of Samuel, January 9, 1799.
McIntire, Samuel, July 24, 1801, of cancer.
McIntire, Tobias, April 12, 1797, of small-pox.
Milbery, Elder, September 26, 1777.
Milbery, George, son of Capt. Samuel, October 16, 1788.
Milbery, Capt. Samuel, November 12, 1795.
Millins, widow, December 27, 1801, suddenly.
Morse, Elizabeth, wife of Humphrey, at Newbury, November 2, 1806, my sister.
Moody, the wife of Elias, May 23, 1802.
Moody, the wife of Joseph, September 23, 1797.
Moody, the wife of Samuel, June 5, 1788.
Moody, Mr. Samuel, December 17, 1795, at Exeter.
Moody, the wife of Thomas, jr., March 31, 1802.
Moore, Mrs. Sarah, at J. Grant, December 20, 1804.
Moore, Mr. Thomas, February 21, 1804, age 84.
Moore, Mr. William, December 25, 1781.
Moore, the wife of William, January 12, 1782.
Moore, William, son of John, December 25, 1807, drowned going to the West Indies.
Moulton, Capt. Abel, March 4, 1784.
Moulton, the wife of Daniel, Esq., June 22, 1796.
Moulton, Capt. Daniel, October 29, 1798.
Moulton, widow of Capt. Daniel, November 23, 1798.
Moulton, Dorcas, September 16, 1777.
Moulton, the wife of Ebenezer, February 4, 1777.
Moulton, widow, Elizabeth, May 17, 1801, age 91.
Moulton, George, October 3 or 4, 1787, drowned on his way from St. Peters.
Moulton, Jemima, August 10, 1777.
Moulton, Col. Jeremy, July 16, 1777.
Moulton, Mr. Jeremiah, January 9, 1786.
Moulton, Capt. Jonathan, at Newburyport, February 24, 1807.

- Moulton, Mr. John, April 28, 1803, of consumption.
Moulton, the wife of John, October 4, 1800.
Moulton, the wife Col. Johnson, August 4, 1782.
Moulton, Col. Johnson, June 13, 1798.
Moulton, widow of Col. Johnson, December 28, 1794.
Moulton, Jotham, Esq., May 12, 1777.
Moulton, widow Judith, December 30, 1794.
Moulton, Lydia, daughter of John, May 6, 1802.
Moulton, the wife of Thomas, February 26, 1803.
Moulton, the wife of Samuel, January 3, 1789.
Moulton, Capt. Samuel, September 11 or 12, 1803, on his passage from the West Indies.
Moulton, the wife of William, September 6, 1786.
Muchmore, the wife of Jefry, December 27, 1782.
Muchmore, Elizabeth, widow of Jacob, March 25, 1797.
Norman, Mr. John, March 18, 1793, of palsy.
Nowell, Mr. Abram, December 24, 1790, of cancer.
Nowell, Joel, son of Joseph, July 22, 1802.
Nowell, Col. John, October 12, 1791.
Nowell, John, 3d son of Thomas, January 19, 1793.
Nowell, the aged widow Mary, August 6, 1802.
Nowell, Mr. Thomas, December 8, 1801.
O'Neal, Mr. James, June 7, 1802.
Paine, Mr. Daniel, May 25, 1803.
Parsons, Mr. Elisha, July 26, 1799.
Parsons, Dea. John, February 14, 1778.
Parsons, Mr. Joseph, December 4, 1781.
Parsons, widow Miriam, February 11, 1791.
Paul, Mr. Jeremy, October, 1779.
Paul, the wife of Jeremiah, July 29, 1800.
Paul, Capt. Samuel, December 17, 1793.
Paul, widow, Mr. H. Sargent's mother, May 6, 1795.
Perkins, the wife of Samuel, March 7, 1782.
Perkins, Samuel, July 13, 1788.
Perkins, William, died of his wound, being shot November 2, 1781.
Philbrook, Mr. John, February 9, 1777.

- Philbrook, the aged widow, February 12, 1796.
Phillips, the aged Mr. Henry, January 24, 1801.
Plaisted, Joseph, November 2, 1781, being wounded by a gun.
Pottle, Mr. Christopher, December 25, 1781.
Preble, Mr. Caleb, April 12, 1791, age 62.
Preble, Mr. David, February 21, 1802.
Preble, Mr. Ebenezer, February 18, 1777, of small-pox.
Preble, Mrs. Hannah, December 17, 1793.
Preble, widow, Hepsabeth, September 17, 1785.
Preble, Mr. Joseph, December 8, 1791.
Preble, Mrs. Lydia, December 7, 1792.
Preble, Paul, February 11, 1779.
Preble, Mr. Peter, May 29, 1790.
Preble, the wife of Samuel, January 13, 1801.
Prentice, widow, November 13, 1790.
Quin, Darby, January 24, 1797.
Ramsdell, Daniel, February 4, 1796.
Ramsdell, the wife of Nathaniel, Sen., May 4, 1790.
Ramsdell, Mr. Nathaniel, March 2, 1800.
Raynes, Benjamin, son of Robert, November 19, 1791, drowned
in the eddy.
Raynes, widow, February 17, 1788, age 99.
Raynes, the wife of Deacon, March 12, 1798.
Raynes, the wife of Nathaniel, June 26, 1795, of cancer.
Raynes, Mr. Nathaniel, September 19, 1802, of lockjaw.
Raynes, widow of Nathaniel, May 22, 1797.
Raynes, Capt. Robert, November 5, 1793.
Raynes, Sally, May 19, 1799, of cancer.
Ritchie, the wife of Matthew, November 8, 1779.
Safford, the wife of Moses, June 30, 1776.
Sargent, Andrew, November 4, 1795, age about 20.
Sargent, Daniel, November 9, 1799.
Savage, the wife of John, January 9, 1792.
Savage, Mr. John, October 28, 1798.
Savage, Rachel, December 20, 1790.
Savage, Sally, August 27, 1791.
Sayward, the wife of Ebenezer, January 14, 1781.

- Sayward, Mr. Ebenezer, April 8, 1783.
Sayward, widow Elizabeth, August 27, 1791.
Sayward, Daniel, March 3, 1803, consumption.
Sayward, Mr. Henry, November 20, 1788.
Sayward, the wife of Jonathan, Esq., September, 12, 1775.
Sayward, Elder J., May 8, 1797, age 84.
Sayward, Mary, daughter of Capt. William, October 9, 1803.
Sayward, Prince, negro, February 3, 1789.
Sayward, Sarah, daughter of Bethular, August 15, 1790.
Sayward, William, jr., May 10, 1801.
Sellers, Ebenezer, October 3 or 4, 1787, drowned on the way from St. Peters.
Sellers, Martha, April 26, 1804.
Sellers, the wife of William, January 6, 1795.
Sewall, the wife of Hon. David, May 28, 1788.
Sewall, widow Hannah, July 6, 1799, age 86.
Sewall, Mr. Henry, November 2, 1792.
Sewall, the aged widow of Henry, July 27, 1797.
Sewall, Mr. Joseph, December 12, 1782, of cancer.
Sewall, Joanna, October 4, 1775.
Sewall, King, negro, June 8, 1794.
Sewall, Lucy, daughter of Capt. S. S., September 3, 1802.
Sewall, the aged widow, Sarah, February 3, 1790.
Sewall, the wife of Storer, January 14, 1800.
Shaw, Mr. Joseph, December 30, 1802.
Sholes, George Perkins, November 22, 1781.
Simpson, Abigail, December 21, 1776.
Simpson, the wife of Capt. Ebenezer, October 15, 1804.
Simpson, the widow Eliza, December 22, 1799.
Simpson, the widow of Henry, September 22, 1778.
Simpson, the widow of Henry, September 22, 1784.
Simpson, the widow of Joseph, July 14, 1781.
Simpson, the wife of Capt. Joseph, December 10, 1786.
Simpson, Elder Joseph, November 24, 1798, age 86.
Simpson, Capt. Joshua, June 9, 1801.
Simpson, widow, December 13, 1802, age 96.
Simpson, Mary, July 18, 1777.

- Simpson, the wife of Capt. Timothy, October 5, 1799.
Simpson, Miss Olive, January 24, 1800.
Simpson, William, December 25, 1777.
Smith, the wife of Capt. Edward, December 21, 1804.
Smith, Lydia, March 13, 1797.
Smith, widow Sarah, December 8, 1787.
Stone, widow Abigail, August 30, 1784.
Stone, the wife of Josiah, October 27, 1797.
Stone, Mr. Josiah, October 23, 1804.
Stover, Mr. Isaac, August 3, 1788.
Stover, Mr. John, January 24, 1796, suddenly.
Stover, Richard, son of Joseph and Huldý, October 14, 1788.
Swett, John, Esq., June 18, 1790.
Swett, Capt. John. April 17, 1797, of fever.
Swett, Mr. Joseph, August 29, 1776.
Swett, Mr. Nathaniel, March 19, 1792.
Swett, Sarah, an idiot, July 16, 1787.
Talpey, the wife of Richard, Esq., September 27, 1778.
Talpey, Richard, Esq., May 19, 1793.
Thompson, Mr. Daniel, May 19, 1800.
Thompson, Dodiavah Curtis, May 22, 1807.
Tilton, Abram, December 25, 1786.
Toppan, widow, July 18, 1783.
Trafton, Mr. Joseph, May 15, 1790.
Trafton, Mr. Jotham, November 13, 1804.
Trafton, widow Lydia, December 30, 1784.
Trivett, Capt. Richard, July 12, 1793.
Tucker, Joseph, Esq., September 8, 1804.
Walton, the wife of Mark, April 11, 1785.
Walton, the wife of Mark, March 4, 1790.
Weare, Mr. Elias, June 29, 1790.
Weare, the wife of Mr. Joseph, September, 1778, of small-pox.
Weare, the wife of Jeremiah, May 14, 1801.
Weare, Mr. Joseph, October 18, 1791.
Weare, the wife of Joseph, December 19, 1804.
Webber, Gershon, May 4, 1797.
Webber, the wife of Nathaniel, October 6, 1782.

- Webber, wife of Nathaniel, September 26, 1789.
 Webber, Mr. Nathaniel, June 11, 1791.
 Weeks, Mr. Josiah, January 19, 1801.
 Welch, Mr. Benjamin, February 17, 1804.
 Welch, Miss Mary, found dead December 12, 1801.
 Welch, widow, April, 1782.
 Welch, the wife of William, June 9, 1791.
 Whitefield, Mr. George, preached at York, September 27, 1770,
 and died at Newbury, September 30, Sunday morning.
 Whitney, the aged widow, January 15, 1795.
 Whittum, widow Anna, May 5, 1793.
 Whittum, Hannah, November 12, 1802.
 Whittum, Peter, November 17, 1786.
 Whittum, the wife of Reuben, January 30, 1800.
 Wilson, Mr. Joseph, April 1, 1803.
 Wilson, Dea. Michael, April 26, 1785.
 Wilson, widow, February 10, 1790.
 Wise, the wife of Theodore, September 15, 1786.
 Witham, February 23, 1785.
 Wood, Elizabeth, May 7, 1801.
 Woodbridge, widow Ann, December 12, 1783.
 Woodward, Margaret, March 4, 1801.
 Young, widow Abigail, March 23, 1790.
 Young, Mr. Beniah, February 2, 1779.
 Young, Elizabeth, September, 1778.
 Young, the wife of Jabez, April 15, 1804.
 Young, Mr. John, January 11, 1803, age 83.
 Young, Mr. John, Jr., March 21, 1797, in consequence of his
 swallowing a number of pills, as was supposed, and laid out all night.
 Young, the wife of Jonathan, June 26, 1800.
 Young, Mr. Joshua, October 14, 1803.
 Young, Mrs. Mary, May 21, 1804.
 Young, Mr. Masterson, June 16, 1795.
 Young, Mr. Roland, February 9, 1782.
 Young, Mr. Roland, December 7, 1800.
 Young, the wife of Samuel, Jr., January 22, 1802.
 Young, Mrs. Sarah, August 21, 1797, of cancer.

PROCEEDINGS.

JANUARY 26, 1899.

SESSIONS of the Society were held in the Library hall and were called to order by the President, Mr. Baxter.

The first paper in order was Some Account of the Ministry on the Kennebec During the Indian War, read by Rev. Henry O. Thayer.

Mr. Nathan Goold read a paper on Captain Johnson Moulton's Company, the First from the District of Maine, in the Revolution.

Mr. Charles S. Fobes read a communication from Mr. Edwin S. Drake on the changed condition of affairs in the South since the Rebellion.

At the evening session the President read a paper on the Genesis of New England.

Adjourned.

THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

Will be issued in January, April, July and October. Each number will contain an attractive and valuable amount of historical matter, Proceedings, Historical Memoranda and other miscellaneous material.

It is under the superintendence of Rev. H. S. Burrage, Rev. Henry O. Thayer and H. W. Bryant, as editing and publishing committee.

The continuation of the publication is guaranteed by the strength in membership of the Society; but as it is expected that there will be a large class of general readers who can be interested in these researches, it is considered desirable to invite the coöperation of that class in carrying forward this good work.

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Historical articles, notes, queries and answers, are solicited for publication, and should be addressed to H. W. Bryant, Secretary Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine.

We send the numbers out uncut, that they may be bound at the close of the year to correspond with other volumes issued by the Society. The price for binding will be cloth 50 *cts.*, half-sheep 75 *cts.*

All correspondence concerning subscriptions and payment should be addressed to

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OF THE
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Antiquitatis Monumenta Colligere

JULY, 1899

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Editing and Publishing Staff.

REV. H. S. BURRAGE,
REV. HENRY O. THAYER,
H. W. BRYANT.

ENTERED AT THE POST OFFICE AT PORTLAND, MAINE, AS SECOND CLASS MATTER



W. P. Sefton

WILLIAM PITT FESSENDEN.

BY RICHARD WEBB.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 23, 1894.

THE public career of William Pitt Fessenden covered the period from 1854 to 1869, from the rise of the Republican party to the close of Johnson's administration. With the exception of about eight months, when he was Secretary of the Treasury, he was, during all this time, a member of the Senate. He entered that body as the slavery question was reaching a crisis, and in the momentous events which followed he bore a leading part. In many respects this period of our history, from the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill to the first inauguration of President Grant, is the most important. It witnessed the rise and suppression of a great rebellion, the abolition of slavery, the reconstruction of the South and the impeachment of a president. At no former period had the necessity for the highest order of statesmanship been greater, and this necessity developed in many of our public men the qualities and abilities which the occasion demanded. Many who then occupied important positions and wielded large influence seem to have been now forgotten, save, perhaps, in the localities where they lived, or by those who were in some sense their contemporaries. Lincoln and a few others have already achieved immortality, but there were many more whose names are now rarely heard, but whose services

to the Republic merit at least remembrance. Such a one was Fessenden. As an apostle in the antislavery crusade, and, for many years, as a leader in the Senate, he exhibited those qualities of mind and character which mark the statesman ; and especially as Secretary of the Treasury, as Chairman of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, and in daring to vote against his party for the acquittal of Andrew Johnson, his services were most important.

No sketch of Fessenden, however brief, would be complete without some reference to his father, Gen. Samuel Fessenden, for from him were inherited in marked degree the intellectual traits which made the senator distinguished. Samuel Fessenden was a son of William Fessenden, the first minister of the first parish in Fryeburg, Maine, and was born at Fryeburg in 1784. His early education was obtained at the Fryeburg Academy, the principal of which during the latter part of his course was Daniel Webster, then a recent graduate of Dartmouth College. A warm friendship sprang up between teacher and pupil which continued during life, and it was doubtless due to Webster's influence that Samuel Fessenden went to Dartmouth, where he was graduated in 1806. He studied law in an office in his native village, and was admitted to the bar in 1809. He began practise in New Gloucester, Maine, and remained there until 1822, when he moved to Portland, and formed a partnership with Thomas Amory Deblois. This firm continued for many years, and from the beginning had a large and important practise. The early volumes of the Maine

Reports show that Fessenden & Deblois appeared in more cases before the Law Court than any other lawyers in Cumberland County, and it is said of Gen. Fessenden that probably no other lawyer in Maine ever argued so many cases to the jury. As a lawyer he was successful, and won a reputation at the bar as a safe counsellor and an able and eloquent advocate. For many years he was president of the Cumberland Bar Association, which position he held at the time of his death. He was not only well read in the law, but was also a man of scholarly and literary tastes. In 1828 he might, perhaps, have been elected president of Dartmouth, had he not declined to be considered a candidate. In 1848 he received from Bowdoin the degree of LL.D. For many years before Maine was set off as a separate state he represented the town of New Gloucester in the General Court of Massachusetts, serving in both the House of Representatives and in the Senate, and it was on account of his legislative services that he was elected, in 1818, a Major-General of the militia, thereby receiving the title by which he was commonly known.

In politics he was a pronounced and ardent Federalist so long as Federalism had life. He then became a Whig, but his extreme antislavery views soon alienated him from that party, and finally and naturally drew him into the Republican party. He was, therefore, during the greater part of his life a member of the minority. Maine was a Democratic State from the time of its organization until the rise of the Republican party. Except in the memorable election of

1840, when Edward Kent was chosen governor, no Whig was ever elected by the people to that office, and except in the same election, when William Pitt Fessenden was elected to Congress, the seat for the Portland district was regularly filled by a Democrat. Had General Fessenden lived a little earlier so that his prime of life might have come when the Federalist party was dominant, or had he lived a little later, so that his prime might have come during the Rebellion, he would doubtless have been a man of national position and reputation. He lived in both periods, but Federalist supremacy had ceased before he was of age, and the success of the later Republican party found him an old man nearing his eightieth year. In this respect his career was unfortunate. He was naturally drawn toward public life, and battled with keen zest in behalf of principles which he believed to be right. He did all he could for the negro when it cost something to befriend a slave. He received colored people at his house, visited them himself, and aided them in their attempts to attain position in society. The unpopularity of such a course did not deter him. He entered into the antislavery cause from sincere conviction, and gave to it the best efforts of his mind and heart. He was a man of great strength of character, of intellectual force and of firm convictions. He died at Portland, Maine, March 19, 1869, aged nearly eighty-five years, preceding his distinguished son to the grave by only about six months.

William Pitt Fessenden was the eldest son of Gen. Samuel Fessenden, and was born at Boscawen, New

Hampshire, October 16, 1806. The name which he received is indicative of his father's political opinions, as Pitt, then at the height of his power and reputation as premier of England, was the idol of the New England Federalists. His childhood was spent at his father's home in New Gloucester. He was early studious and unusually precocious. In 1819, before he was thirteen years old, he entered Bowdoin College, and was graduated there with honors in 1823. Franklin Pierce, who afterwards became president, was in college at the same time, being a member of the class of 1822, while in the class of 1825 were Longfellow and Hawthorne.

While Fessenden was in college his father had moved from New Gloucester to Portland, so that when his college course was completed he came to his father's new home, and began to study law in the office of Charles S. Daveis, at that time one of the leading lawyers in Maine. He was a law student for four years, part of the time in the office of his uncle Thomas Fessenden in New York, and in 1827, being then twenty-one years old, he was admitted to the Cumberland Bar. He had received an excellent drill, especially in equity, then a new branch in the jurisprudence of Maine. After his admission he opened an office in Bridgton, Maine, where he remained about two years. He then returned to Portland, and became a member of his father's firm, but this arrangement not proving satisfactory he went to Bangor, where he stayed until 1832, when he again returned to Portland, and for the rest of his life made his home in that city. He was

married on the year of his return to the youngest daughter of James Deering.

Fessenden soon took high rank at the bar, and developed much of the true spirit of the lawyer. He was fond of the profession, and in many respects preferred it to holding public position. He enjoyed a large although not specially lucrative practise, and long before his election to the Senate he was recognized as one of the leading lawyers of the state.

He early took an interest in politics. In 1827, when only twenty-one years of age, he delivered to the young men of Portland a Fourth of July oration, in which he clearly showed the bent of his mind toward public affairs. In 1832 he was elected to the Legislature as a Whig, having been offered and having declined the Whig nomination for Congress. It may be that this latter nomination was declined because there seemed to be slight prospect of election, or it may be that he did not consider it wise at the very beginning of his professional career, and before he had established a practise, to afford the time necessary for a Congressional term. Service in Congress does not seem to have been then considered the honor it has since become. An appointment to the bench was much preferred, and on two separate occasions seats in the United States Senate were resigned for positions on the Supreme Court of Maine. In 1840, however, he accepted the Congressional nomination and was elected; but service in the House of Representatives did not seem to suit his tastes and although renominated he positively declined to run. Ten years later,

in 1850, he was again elected to Congress, but lost his seat through an error in the returns.

In 1843 and 1845 the Whigs in the Legislature gave him their votes for the senatorship, and in 1853, when the term of James W. Bradbury, who was a Democrat, expired, he again received the support of his party. But the Legislature of 1853 failed to elect, no candidate receiving a majority of the votes cast, and adjourned leaving the vacancy to be filled by the Legislature to be elected in the coming fall. Now in the political campaign of that year a serious split occurred in the Democratic party so long dominant in Maine. A considerable faction, calling themselves "Independent Democrats," bolted the regular nominations and supported, as their candidate for the governorship, Anson P. Morrill. There was no election of governor by the people, and it fell, therefore, upon the Legislature which met in January, 1854, to elect both a governor and a senator, with the balance of power resting in the handful of members who were the supporters of Mr. Morrill.

Mr. Fessenden had been at all times a consistent Whig, and was the most prominent man of that party in the state. Besides his brief experience in Congress, he had served many terms in the Legislature, had been a delegate to several national conventions, and had before been the regular candidate for the senatorship. For these reasons his friends claimed for him the united support of the party. But he was a pronounced antislavery man. While he had not followed his father's example in breaking with the Whig party, he was at all times in favor of vigorous and

constitutional opposition to the slave power. These views commended him to the "Independent Democrats," who had broken with their own party on the slavery question, but not to several members of his own party of pro-slavery proclivities who called themselves "Strict Whigs," and who were willing to vote for him as the party candidate so long as there should be no prospect of his election, but who would not vote for him if he were to receive the support of anti-slavery Democrats. Any open combination was therefore impossible, and Mr. Fessenden's election was brought about by a ruse secretly planned by Mr. Morrill and shrewdly executed by his followers. It was reported and not denied that the "Independents" would support as their senatorial candidate ex-Gov. Hubbard. On the day of the election they circulated ballots for him, and then they all voted for Fessenden. So well had the secret been kept as to what the "Independents" would do that the Whigs were completely deceived, and as all the Whigs had voted for Mr. Fessenden, he was, to their great surprise, elected on the first ballot.

At the time of Mr. Fessenden's election to the Senate the great debate on the Kansas-Nebraska bill was in progress. This bill for the organization of the two territories of Kansas and Nebraska provided for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and its passage by Congress broke up the Whig party, consolidated the antislavery men of the North into the new Republican party, and impelled the South toward secession. Its importance may warrant a brief review

of the political history of the slavery question up to this time.

Of the original thirteen states seven were free and six were slave. Up to 1850 seventeen new states had been added to the Union, and of these eight were free and nine were slave. So that at that date the Union consisted of thirty states equally divided between freedom and slavery. Moreover this equality which then existed had been maintained from the beginning, for, with the single exception of Louisiana, which was admitted in 1812 with no corresponding state from the North, it had been so arranged that states were admitted regularly one from the North and one from the South. Thus Kentucky and Vermont, Tennessee and Ohio, Mississippi and Indiana, Alabama and Illinois, Missouri and Maine, Arkansas and Michigan, Florida and Iowa, Texas and Wisconsin came into the Union in pairs, not indeed at precisely the same moment in every case, but always with reference each to the other in the order named. The constitutional equality of all states in the Senate gave to each section, therefore, equal representation in that body, and although in the House of Representatives and in the Electoral College the free states predominated because of their more rapid growth in population, the slave states were always able to defeat in the Senate any hostile legislation which might have passed the House, and to refuse to confirm any nomination made by the President which they considered inimical to their interests. A tie vote, to be sure, cannot carry measures, but it can always defeat them, and any combination of votes that

possesses the negative power will in the end direct and control the positive action of the body to which it belongs. It was, therefore, of the highest importance to the South, or, at least, it was believed to be so by the Southern leaders, that this balance of power in the Senate should be maintained. It was for this purpose that the Mexican War had been fought, resulting in the acquisition of the long stretch of southern territory extending to the Pacific from which new slave states might be carved to balance the free states which might grow up in the Northwest.

But the far reaching plans of the South were suddenly and most unexpectedly disturbed through the discovery of gold in California, in 1848. The enormous and unprecedented rush to the Pacific coast soon gave to this region a large population, and it was a population in which the South had but few representatives. Slavery there had no status. Within two years after the discovery of gold, California applied for admission as a free state, without having previously been through the territorial period. This territory was acquired through the active exertions of the South, and its acquisition was bitterly opposed by the North. The avowed purpose and expectation of its acquisition had been to strengthen the South. The unexpected result was to strengthen the North. The strenuous efforts of the South to maintain the balance of power had in this instance served to most rudely disturb it. Fierce and bitter was the contest which ensued. Secession was angrily threatened, and a disruption of the Union

seemed imminent. In this crisis Henry Clay brought forward a compromise which was finally adopted and which became known as the Compromise of 1850. On behalf of the North it was provided that California should be admitted as a free state and that the slave trade in the District of Columbia should be abolished, while the South was appeased by provisions that ten million dollars be given to Texas for the payment of its war debt, that the remaining territory acquired from Mexico be organized without prohibition or permission of slavery, and that the Fugitive Slave Law be enacted. These measures were hailed far and wide as the final settlement of the slavery question. Resolutions of both parties adopted at the conventions of 1852 referred to them as an adjustment of the whole controversy. Attempted secession was really only deferred, but the danger of it was believed to be over.

It soon became evident that the settlement was one in name only, and that a truce, not a final peace, had been obtained. The harsh provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law, which denied right of trial by jury to one accused of being a runaway slave, and gave him no right of appeal from the decision of a United States Commissioner depriving him of his freedom, were so at variance with the spirit of liberty pervading the common law, that the law was most unpopular and most difficult of enforcement throughout the North. Moreover the rule or ruin policy of the South began to be more clearly seen and understood, and there grew and became fixed in the Northern mind a deter-

mination to make no further concessions. On the other hand the South realized that it had lost its power in the Senate, and that an effort must be made to regain it. Arizona and New Mexico, which were the only remaining Southern territories available, gave little promise of being able to support populations large enough for state organizations, while in the North there was territory sufficient for many more states whose admission would give the North power to outvote the South in both the House and the Senate, and this power the South conscientiously believed would be used for the abolition of slavery and for the political degradation of the Southern states. There seemed to the leaders of the South but one thing to be done. The measure was desperate but it was their only hope. They must break through the line of the Missouri Compromise. This line was the southern boundary of Missouri, and when that state had been admitted as a slave state in 1820, Congress had enacted that no more slave states should be admitted north of that line. This was the compromise which had allayed the antislavery agitation of that time, and for over thirty years it had been acquiesced in by both sections. The acting generation had grown to manhood with profound respect and even reverence for it, and had come to regard it almost as sacredly as though it were part of the organic law of the Republic. It was now proposed in the bill for organizing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska that this compromise be repealed "that the citizens of the several

states shall be at liberty to take and hold their slaves within any of the territories." The North was fairly stunned by this proposition. Had it been proposed to abolish the Constitution itself the surprise could scarcely have been greater. No previous antislavery excitement bore any comparison to that which spread over the North as the discussion progressed. The proposal did not merely call forth opposition, it produced almost a frenzy of wrath on the part of thousands, irrespective of party, who had never before taken any part whatever in the antislavery agitation.

When Mr. Fessenden took his seat in the Senate on February 23, 1854, the debate on the Kansas-Nebraska bill was at its height, and into this debate he plunged at once, delivering his first speech on the evening of March 3. This speech bears no evidence of careful literary preparation. It was delivered without notes and upon the inspiration of the moment, but it was clear, logical, forcible and consistent. The frequent interruptions and questions of such veteran debaters as Cass, Douglas and Butler of South Carolina, did not disconcert him. Having come directly from the people, he voiced the popular indignation which this bill had aroused, and having been elected by a democratic legislature, although he himself was a lifelong Whig, his presence in the Senate was an example of how this slavery question, so suddenly and unexpectedly reopened, had made men forget past political differences.

His speech won from his fellow senators their immediate recognition of him as a debater of more than

usual ability, and drew public attention to himself as a new and fearless leader of the small band of anti-slavery men then in Congress.

But the Missouri Compromise was repealed. In a Senate of sixty-two members only fourteen voted against the bill. As had so often happened before the demands of the South were granted. Instantly the Republican party sprang into being, taking for its creed opposition to the extension of slavery in the territories, while "popular sovereignty" became the rallying cry of the Democrats. The old issues were forgotten, and slavery became the one political question. The Whig party was dead, and although many Whigs became Democrats, many Democrats joined their old opponents in becoming Republicans. Then came the fierce and bitter struggle for the possession of Kansas fought out largely in hand-to-hand encounter upon the soil of that new territory, the attempt to fraudulently force a slavery constitution upon the Kansas people, the final defeat of the pro-slavery party and the admission of Kansas as a free state. As the Southern leaders saw power slipping from their grasp, and realized that not only the balance of power never could be restored, but that the time was at hand when the control of the government in all its branches would pass to enemies of Southern institutions, angrier and more arrogant grew their demands, and firmer and more determined became the Northern resistance. The Supreme Court issued the Dred Scott decision, John Brown attempted to capture Harper's Ferry, Abraham Lincoln was elected to the presidency, the

Southern states passed ordinances of secession, and active preparations for war began.

Mr. Fessenden's first term in the Senate was therefore crowded with exciting and momentous events, and in all the legislative struggles of the time he bore a conspicuous part. The prominent position he had assumed at the beginning he held to the end as the little band of champions for freedom grew greater. He spoke frequently in the Senate, making notable speeches on the Lecompton constitution and the Dred Scott decision, but it was as a debater rather than as an orator that he shone. In debate he was always ready. Nobody could match him in immediate and incisive reply, and his words were swift and sharp. In sentiment he was thoroughly antislavery. It was his inheritance and he was faithful to it. In all demands of slavery for recognition and protection his opposition was inflexible. When to be antislavery was to be anti-American, he was antislavery; when his party would compromise, he dissented; when, on the eve of rebellion, conference and concession were proposed, he would have no participation in it and would yield no assent; and when war came for separation and independent slave power, he saw in it the nation's opportunity. The growth of the antislavery sentiment, the moulding of public opinion and the solidifying of the North to resist secession were due to many things of which men and events each had their share; but the fearless, determined and uncompromising stand taken by such men as Fessenden in Congress had an effect which cannot well be overestimated.

When the Republican party came into power, to Mr. Fessenden was assigned the difficult and important position of chairman of the finance committee. Here he was most conspicuous in sustaining the national credit during the war. He prepared and carried through the Senate all measures relating to revenue, taxation and appropriations, and so much confidence was reposed in him, and so great was his influence, that his bills almost always became laws substantially as he had reported them. As declared by Sumner "all that our best generals were in arms, he was in the financial field." In one important instance he was outvoted. He objected to the Legal Tender bill, and he stated his objections in one of his ablest speeches. He disputed the contention that such action was necessary. Although the credit of the government had been impaired, it was still strong, but a measure of this kind would further injure it as being practically a confession of bankruptcy. It would be in bad faith, for it would compel one to take in payment of a debt that which he would not otherwise be willing to receive, and what would probably not be full payment. It would encourage bad morals by enabling men to pay their debts at a discount. It would inflict a stain upon the national honor in compelling foreign creditors to receive their debts in depreciated paper. It would change the values of all property. Instead of using gold and silver as the measures of value, a new measure would be adopted, which would be constantly fluctuating, and, although passing nominally at par, gold would go to a premium, and all other kinds of

property would also appreciate. The heaviest loss would fall upon the poor. The constitutionality of the act was at best doubtful. The correctness of these views was soon apparent after the passage of the bill. All his predictions were fulfilled, and to the evils of a civil war were added the misfortunes of a depreciated and fluctuating currency.

At the darkest hour of the war, in June 1864, Secretary Chase resigned the portfolio of the Treasury. To fill the vacancy, David Tod, of Ohio, was nominated, but he immediately sent a telegram to the President declining the office. The nomination of Mr. Fessenden was then sent to the Senate, and was at once confirmed. Mr. Fessenden was completely surprised. He was at the White House conferring with the President upon the situation of affairs in the Treasury Department when Mr. Lincoln told him that his own nomination was on the way to the Capitol. He at once hastened to the Senate Chamber to protest against it, but the nomination had been confirmed before he arrived. He sought, however, to decline, but the President insisted that he must accept. Influential senators and members of the House promised to aid and support him with such financial legislation as he might wish, and public opinion, so far as it was made manifest in resolutions of chambers of commerce and boards of trade and in the editorials of leading party newspapers, called upon him to take the office. So he resigned his seat in the Senate, and became Secretary of the Treasury. This act showed greater political courage than those who urged him to it could

realize. No one knew better than he the desperate condition in which the finances of the country then were. Credit seemed to be exhausted, paper money was very much depreciated, no new and untried source of revenue was apparent, and the demands for funds for prosecuting the war were increasing every day. Successful administration of the Treasury might well have seemed to him impossible, and yet upon him would fall the responsibility of failure, even although such failure be caused by policies adopted by his predecessor or by circumstances beyond his control. In the Senate his position was secure. In entering the Cabinet he staked his entire reputation and all his political prospects upon what must have seemed to be the most desperate chances.

Mr. Fessenden's career as Secretary of the Treasury has been too often referred to in a parenthesis, yet during the eight months that he held this office he quietly and unostentatiously performed the most important public services of his life up to that time. When he assumed the office on July 5, 1864, the condition of affairs was, as he afterwards modestly described it in his report to Congress, "peculiarly embarrassing." There was a cash balance on hand of about \$18,000,000. The internal revenue averaged about three-quarters of a million a day, and the revenue from customs, which was payable in gold, had been pledged to pay interest on outstanding bonds. It had been the policy of the Treasury to issue to government creditors, whom it was not convenient to pay, certificates of indebtedness which were substantially prom-

issory notes payable in one year with interest at six per cent. At this time \$161,000,000 of these certificates were outstanding, and they were coming due daily in amounts more than sufficient to absorb the current revenues. Furthermore in the summer of 1861, when it was believed that the war would be of short duration, a loan had been negotiated for three years, and these bonds, amounting to \$110,000,000 were coming due in August and September of 1864. Pay to the army and current expenses generally were greatly in arrears. The unpaid requisitions upon the Treasury amounted to \$92,000,000. It had been decided to increase the army by five hundred thousand men, and Grant had given notice that he should fight it out on the line chosen by him if it took all summer. This meant that the expense of prosecuting the war was about to be increased from two and one-quarter millions to three millions a day. To meet these enormous requirements money must be had immediately, else the government was bankrupt, the Union cause was lost, and, as the Democratic party that summer declared in convention, "the war was a failure."

There were three courses open to the Secretary. First, he might issue further certificates of indebtedness. This at best would be but a temporary expedient. The amount already issued exceeded the limit of safety, and they were selling on the market at several points below par. Second, he might increase the issue of legal tenders, but this he at once determined not to do if he could possibly avoid it. His original opposition to the Legal Tender act had been

strengthened and confirmed by the results of that act. There were then outstanding about \$600,000,000 legal tenders, of which \$431,000,000 were greenbacks and the balance treasury notes bearing interest, and gold was at 285. Third, he might borrow money through the sale of bonds. But the bonded debt of the government was then \$816,000,000. Just before resigning Secretary Chase had attempted to dispose of the comparatively small amount of \$33,000,000, but his advertisements for bids, which were published on June 25, were withdrawn a week later, since it appeared that the loan would not be taken upon terms which it would be for the interest of the government to accept.

Of these three courses, each thus beset with difficulties, the Secretary at once discarded the first two as impracticable for furnishing permanent relief, and determined to try to dispose of a new issue of bonds. Bonds which had heretofore been issued had been sold in most instances to banks, capitalists and syndicates, and by them placed upon the market, but it now appeared that this market would take no more except at a ruinous discount. Mr. Fessenden realized, however, that another market for government securities might well exist outside the stock exchanges of the great cities, in which market the people themselves might deal directly with the government without the intervention of brokers and middle men. In the people of this country he had full confidence. He firmly believed in their determination to put down the rebellion at any cost or sacrifice. He knew too that the people had faith in the government. They were

determined to win and they believed that they would. He therefore determined to offer as a great popular loan, the "seven-thirty" bonds which had just been authorized by Act of June 30, 1864. If the people should be made to understand the financial necessities of the government, he believed their patriotism would induce them to assist the government with their means; and as they had confidence in the ultimate success of the Union cause, he believed that the government bonds would appear to them as a safe and desirable form of investment. But to successfully carry out the plan which he had in mind would require a large and well organized corps of assistants such as the Treasury Department did not possess and had not time to obtain. So the Secretary called to his aid Mr. Jay Cooke who had before assisted the department in placing the "five-twenties." Mr. Cooke had organized in his own business an immense and most thorough system of advertising, and arrangements were made so that in every city, village and hamlet of the North the people should be thoroughly informed of this new loan. Local newspapers were furnished with full, accurate and carefully prepared information. Circulars and personal letters were sent out by the thousands, and in every way then known to the science of modern advertising these bonds were placed before the public. Opportunities were given to every one to subscribe, and that the bonds might be within the reach of people of humble circumstances, they were issued in small as well as in large denominations. The plan proved a pronounced success, and

the "seven-thirtys" became very popular almost immediately. Money flowed into the treasury in a constantly increasing stream, and the financial embarrassment of the government was soon relieved.

A most gratifying incident in connection with the sale of these bonds was the alacrity with which they were taken by the soldiers in settlement of the arrears of pay due them. The soldiers were not compelled to take the bonds. They were offered their pay either in money or in bonds as they might prefer, and over \$20,000,000 in bonds were taken by them. The spectacle of soldiers in the ranks not only fighting the battles of their country, but also loaning the government money to carry on the war is believed to be without historical parallel.

When Mr. Fessenden left the Treasury in March, 1865, to again take the seat in the Senate to which the Legislature of Maine had reelected him, the clouds of eight months before had disappeared. Threatened bankruptcy had been averted, and the financial affairs of the government had been conducted to a position of safety. The empty coffers had been filled, the obligations of the government had been met, and its badly shattered credit had been restored. To these results the victories of the Federal armies contributed in no small measure, for no financial policy could have been long successful in the face of continued military defeat. But on the other hand, the firm will, the clearly defined and well sustained policy and the unflinching constancy of the Secretary which had been solely directed to rescuing the Treasury from its position of

embarrassment and danger, had to no small extent made Union victories possible, for no campaign of any importance could have been conducted to a successful termination without the "sinews of war."

For his services in the Treasury Department Mr. Fessenden has never had the full credit that was his due. His predecessor has received unlimited praise for meeting the financial requirements of the first three years of the war—requirements that were without precedent. But when Secretary Chase resigned, the financial necessities of the government, great as they had been before, were greater than ever then. Secretary Chase raised by loans in three years and four months \$816,000,000, or about \$20,000,000 a month, and of this \$110,000,000 had to be met by Secretary Fessenden at the most embarrassing period. Mr. Chase also issued \$600,000,000 of legal tender paper and \$162,000,000 of certificates of indebtedness. Secretary Fessenden raised by loans in eight months \$450,000,000, or \$56,000,000 a month, and did not increase the issue of paper. Mr. Fessenden's successor has been given great credit for supplying without embarrassment the immense sums needed to pay off the troops when they were finally discharged, and for his success in refunding the "seven-thirty" loan. But Secretary McCulloch in the one case had to merely pay out money from a treasury which he found overflowing and from which no further war expenses were to be paid, and in the other to exchange for a maturing obligation worth only par one worth a premium of ten per cent and constantly appreciating.

While Mr. Fessenden held office few knew the serious condition of the Treasury, or could appreciate the measures taken for its relief. Great events were happening elsewhere, and the people were watching the armies. Generals had been produced at last who could and would fight, and those who led the Northern arms to victory received from the people all the credit and all the glory for the salvation of the Union.

The most difficult political problem of the century was perhaps that of reconstruction. Upon the surrender of her armies the South was prostrate before the power of the North. What should be done with her? The Union had been saved, how should it be preserved? Slavery, which had been the curse of the republic, was dead, what should be the status of the freedman? The problem was complicated at the outset by a controversy between the executive and legislative branches of the government as to which branch had the constitutional power of seeking and applying a solution. First President Johnson attempted to solve it alone. When he came into office in April, 1865, upon the death of Lincoln, instead of then calling an extra session of Congress to deal with the many questions presented by the cessation of hostilities, he thought best to proceed without legislative assistance or hindrance. He therefore had until the following December for carrying on his experiments. At the beginning of this brief space of time he was in favor of harsh and severe measures in dealing with the South, and talked vehemently of punishment; at the end he was warmly sympathizing with

the Southern people and was their protector against Northern oppression. He had, therefore, sought to restore the Southern states to their former position in the Union as quickly as possible. First a proclamation of general amnesty was issued, excepting from its benefits only certain classes. Those excepted in the proclamation, however, were practically promised a full pardon if they would apply for it in person, and over fourteen thousand availed themselves of this privilege. Conventions were then held in the different Southern states for revising the state constitutions and providing for the reorganization of the state governments, and the people were soon called upon to elect state officials and members of Congress. Before Congress met, reconstruction according to the President's plan was practically completed. New state governments had been organized, and United States senators and members of Congress had been elected. If the President's acts were valid there was nothing for Congress to do in the matter except to admit to their seats those claiming to represent the states lately in rebellion, and to proceed with the ordinary affairs of legislation as if the war had never taken place.

To Congressmen returning to Washington in December, 1865, after a nine months' absence, a strange spectacle was presented. When Congress had adjourned in March the war was still in progress, the Confederate armies were in the field, and battles were still to be fought. When in December members returned for the first session of the next Congress, they found there many of the most prominent leaders of the Rebellion

coolly demanding the seats in the Senate and House of Representatives to which their various "sovereign peoples" had elected them. They had come to Washington not as petitioners, but as claimants, not as representatives of a defeated people to sue for mercy, but as if they themselves were victors, to dictate terms of peace. In March they were attempting to overthrow the Constitution, in December they were prepared to construe it to its defenders. The power of the government which they had failed to overthrow they now claimed to share.

The successive acts of the President which had ended in bringing about this anomalous condition had been watched with surprise and indignation at the North, and the President soon found that he had almost entirely lost the support of the Republican party which had elected him Vice-President. When Congress met members were in no temper to listen to these claims for Southern representation. They were hardly prepared to be even civil to the President who had, as they believed, assumed the functions of Congress. It was at once decided to appoint a special joint committee on reconstruction, a resolution to this effect passing the House even before the President's message was read, and to this committee should be referred all the questions and all proposed legislation relating to the restoration of the late Confederate States. This was the famous "Committee of Fifteen." It numbered among its members the leading men of both parties, and its chairman was Senator Fessenden.

In the appointment of this committee Congress had practically disregarded, as of no legal validity, the various steps taken by the President and by the Southern people under his direction. Johnson regarded this as a challenge, which he accepted with alacrity, and publicly and privately encouraged the South to insist upon its demands. Utterly lacking in tact and discretion, and blind to the gathering storm of disaffection in the party which had elected him, he obstinately persisted in the course upon which he had started. Around him was gathering a party largely made up of office holders and flatterers, soon to lose, however, all but an insignificant number of the Republicans, but to be reenforced by practically the entire Democracy. Congress was overwhelmingly Republican in both branches, and the members were early assured of the support of their constituencies in their opposition to the President. On the one hand was the North, angry and excited at the prospect of losing the legitimate fruits of its dearly bought victory; on the other was the South, as arrogant as before the war, as defiant as before defeat. It was evident that the peace, which had been hailed so joyously in the spring, had not yet come. The country was still in a state of war. Only the field of operations and the method of carrying on the contest had changed. How could the contest be ended? Upon what terms could a real and lasting peace be secured? These were the questions for the committee to answer, and the excited state of the public mind and the open and growing hostility be-

tween the President and Congress made them almost hopelessly complicated and difficult.

The report of the committee, which was made after a thorough and careful examination into the condition of the Southern states, was anxiously awaited in the belief that it would shed light upon the darkness, and would point out the true path leading to a reunited nation. The report was written by Mr. Fessenden, and it has been said of it that with the possible exception of the Proclamation of Emancipation it is the ablest state paper of the period. With perhaps the same exception it is the most important. Clear and lucid in its style, admirable in its composition, faultless in its logic, convincing in its argument, thorough and complete in its treatment of the subject, and wise in its recommendations, it is a document upon which Mr. Fessenden may well rest his reputation for broad, intelligent, patriotic and wise statesmanship. The influence of the report was immense. It became the creed of the Republican party, and the settlement of the question therein proposed was considered throughout the country as reasonable, practicable and just.

The committee's plan of reconstruction was through the Fourteenth Amendment which should be ratified by the Southern states as a condition of readmission. The Fourteenth Amendment was accordingly adopted by Congress in accordance with the suggestion of the committee, and in nearly the same form in which the committee had drafted it. It was at once ratified by the Northern states and also by Tennessee, and that state was promptly readmitted to representation. But

as the other Southern states rejected the amendment some other measure was necessary, and in March, 1867, ten months after the committee had presented its report, the reconstruction bill was passed, by the terms of which the South was placed under military government, which was to continue until the conditions previously offered should be accepted. This bill made loyalty to the government the sole requirement for suffrage, thereby enfranchising the negroes while disenfranchising all unpardoned rebels. Under these circumstances the conditions imposed by Congress were soon complied with, and the South came back into the Union through the votes of its former slaves.

In thus granting suffrage to the negro, which grant was made perpetual by the Fifteenth Amendment, a grave error was committed. It may be said that the negro who had been constantly loyal to the government and had fought in the Union ranks ought to have as much right to vote as the white man who had been but recently pardoned for disloyalty and rebellion; but it was surely an error to grant the negro such right and not protect him in the exercise of it. By means of bulldozing, terrorizing and fraud the negro vote was promptly suppressed just as soon as the Federal troops were withdrawn. The Fifteenth Amendment has been and is openly disregarded and defied not by states acting through their legislatures, but by individuals, and Congress has been powerless to interfere. Instead of a boon to the colored man, suffrage has been a hindrance. Instead of diminishing the power of the Southern white man the Fifteenth

Amendment has largely increased it, for the Southern states have been increased in power in the House of Representatives and in the Electoral College by counting the colored men as voters, and this power has been wholly exercised by the whites. By forcing negro suffrage upon the Southern states, the Republican party placed in their hands the means by which its own overthrow was to be accomplished.

Mr. Fessenden, although he had from his earliest days been an opponent of slavery, and had always been a true friend to the colored race, was not in favor of negro suffrage as a condition of reconstruction. When the proposed Fourteenth Amendment was before the Senate it was most forcibly attacked by Mr. Sumner because it did not grant universal suffrage, and Mr. Fessenden in his reply contended that it was in all respects better to leave the question of suffrage wholly to the states, holding out to them, however, the prospect of increased representation whenever they should make suffrage universal. Negro suffrage might thereby appear as for the interest of the South, and the negroes would in time be enfranchised by act of the states themselves. Had the negro received the right from the state, he would have been much more likely to have been protected in its exercise.

Mr. Fessenden was now at the height of his power and influence and was the recognized leader of his party in the Senate. He had the respect of his opponents, and calumny and slander had spared him. Had death here ended his career the mourning would have been far more general and sincere than that which

actually occurred two years later, and his memory would have been far more warmly cherished by his contemporaries than has been the case. But another great public service remained for him to perform — to vote “Not Guilty” on the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. By so doing he forfeited all his popular support, lost the greater number of his political friends, and ceased to be a party leader. For the first time in his life he was subjected to general and unmitigated abuse, much of it coming from those who had long looked to him for leadership.

It would be beyond the limits of this paper to review, even briefly, the acts of the President which so aroused against him the antipathy of the Northern representatives, and led them to seek his removal from office. Prominent among these acts may be mentioned his vetoes, his exercise of the pardoning power, his appointments and his messages to Congress. Many of them merited, doubtless, the severe criticism which they received; but such offenses, if any, as were here committed were political, and could not properly subject him to impeachment. But these were what had raised against him the most enemies, and could he have been legally impeached for them, he would not have held office longer than the time necessary for a fair trial. In his exercise of the powers of the presidential office he had antagonized opinions as to public policy which were overwhelming at the North, and the argument that in so doing he had acted strictly within his constitutional right could have little weight with the mass of the people who desired his removal,

and were unused to legal distinctions. In his speeches and public addresses he had often shocked and even outraged good taste, and had been unmindful of the proper dignity of his office. In desiring his removal for this cause it was forgotten that Congress had no constitutional right to set itself up as a school for manners. The North desired his removal, and this desire was based upon acts and opinions of his for which he could not be impeached; but long before he was put upon his trial before the Senate he had been tried and condemned by public opinion at the North, so that when the Impeachment came the people insisted and demanded that he be adjudged guilty regardless of the truth or falsity of the charges actually preferred against him in the Articles of Impeachment.

Among the leading political opponents of the President was Senator Fessenden. No two men could be more unlike. In education, character, intellect, habits of thought, manner and political opinions they were in pronounced and unreconcilable opposition. They had practically nothing in common, and for Johnson's character Fessenden had a supreme contempt. Yet while the Senate was sitting as a court of Impeachment, Mr. Fessenden realized that his duties were then judicial and not political, and that he must base his decision upon the articles presented and the testimony offered in support of them, not upon anything outside of the record. Personal and political considerations must be wholly disregarded.

The charges brought against the President were in themselves not serious. The gravest of them was that

he had attempted to remove a member of his cabinet, Secretary Stanton, without the advice and consent of the Senate. This, it was contended, was a violation of the Tenure of Office Act. If this were so, the violation was technical. The act alleged to have been violated was of doubtful propriety, and was in fact soon after repealed. Of course that a law is unwise is no excuse for its violation. But had President Lincoln or President Grant disregarded the provisions of this law in precisely the same way that it was charged President Johnson had done, there would never have been a thought of impeachment. In Johnson's case, however, it offered an opportunity which had long been waited for, and the incident was seized upon as furnishing means by which really the President might be punished for sins which in themselves could not be directly reached.

But even on the question here presented, as to whether the President in removing Mr. Stanton had acted outside of his constitutional and legal rights, there was a grave difference of opinion among those equally competent to judge. Able and learned constitutional lawyers maintained that the law had been violated, and lawyers no less able and no less learned maintained the contrary. Mr. Fessenden was one of those who held the latter view, and believed that the President had a legal and constitutional right to remove Mr. Stanton in the manner and at the time that he did. The certainty of public disapproval to follow his acting upon this view did not deter him, and in his opinion, filed in the case, he thus referred to it:—

To the suggestion that popular opinion demands the conviction of the President upon these charges, I reply that he is not now on trial before the people, but before the Senate. In the words of Lord Eldon, upon the trial of the Queen, "I take no notice of what is passing out of doors, because I am supposed constitutionally not to be acquainted with it." And again, "it is the duty of those upon whom a judicial task is imposed to meet reproach and not court popularity." The people have not heard the evidence as we have heard it. The responsibility is not on them, but upon us. They have not taken an oath to "do impartial justice according to the Constitution and the laws." I have taken that oath. I cannot render judgment upon their convictions, nor can they transfer to themselves my punishment if I violate my own. And I should consider myself undeserving the confidence of that just and intelligent people who impose upon me this great responsibility, and unworthy a place among honorable men, if for any fear of public reprobation, and for the sake of securing popular favor, I should disregard the convictions of my judgment and my conscience.

The consequences which may follow conviction or acquittal are not for me, with my convictions, to consider. The future is in the hands of Him who made and governs the universe, and the fear that He will not govern it wisely and well would not excuse me for a violation of His law.

The vote of the Senate was thirty-five for conviction and nineteen for acquittal, Mr. Fessenden voting with the minority, and since the necessary two-thirds had not voted "Guilty," the President was not convicted. A change of a single vote given for acquittal would have changed the result. Seven Republican senators voted "Not Guilty," and upon them was at once poured the vials of public wrath, since any one of them might properly be said to have prevented what the vast majority of people so ardently desired.

Among the members of the House who voted for Impeachment was Mr. Blaine, and he has since said: —

Sober reflection of later years has persuaded many who favored Impeachment that it was not justifiable on the charges made, and that its success would have resulted in greater injury to free institutions than Andrew Johnson in his utmost endeavor was able to inflict.

But Mr. Fessenden did not live until "sober reflection of later years" could persuade his detractors that they had been unjust to him. Before the anger which his action had aroused had subsided, he died at his home in Portland, Maine, September 8, 1869. For the last ten years of his life he had not been well. In 1858 he had been one of the victims of a mysterious sickness which broke out among the guests of the National Hotel in Washington, from the effects of which he never fully recovered. In the onerous duties imposed upon him he had doubtless overworked. So that when his final illness came, although at first thought to be not serious, it proved more than he could bear, and in about a week after he was first attacked he died. The suddenness of his death especially shocked the community in which he had lived, and there at least recent animosities were at once forgotten in the universal effort to do honor to his memory. The funeral services which took place in the First Parish church, where he had been a constant attendant, were largely attended, crowds waiting on the steps from early morning until the church should be open. The streets were lined with people as the funeral procession passed. All flags were at half-mast both in the city and on the shipping in the harbor, all the bells of the city tolled, and minute guns were fired from the fort and arsenal. That the mourning was

wide-spread and sincere was self-evident. Portland had lost her greatest citizen, the greatest man who had ever lived within her walls.

Mr. Fessenden was not what is called a popular man, that is, he did not have that quality best described, perhaps, as "personal magnetism," such as was possessed in such marked degree by that other distinguished son of Maine, who soon after occupied his seat in the Senate—Mr. Blaine. The people believed in his integrity, had confidence in his judgment, and admired his ability, but they were not inspired with a feeling of personal loyalty and of intense and unquestioning devotion to himself and his fortunes. His character did not appeal to their emotions. It was not their love he won. He appealed to their consciences and to their common sense, and they followed him because they were convinced that he was right. He was reserved and dignified in manner, and was, perhaps, somewhat aristocratic, had little patience with those whom he considered bores, cared nothing for the patronage of his position, and was often short and sharp with office seekers. He had a supreme contempt, which he took no pains to conceal, for those who were in politics for what they could make, and expected reward for political services. These traits naturally made him unpopular with certain classes, and gave him a reputation for being cold and unapproachable, but to those admitted to his personal friendship he was a most genial companion, and was by them held in such close affection as to prove such reputation undeserved. No man had warmer friends, and they knew,

as perhaps others did not, that a truer, kinder heart than his beat in no human breast.

Fessenden exercised in private life the same virtues that made his public career conspicuous. He had no private vices, such as dim the luster of the fame of Clay. He was always a perfect gentleman, courteous and refined. He was slight in figure, with erect and dignified carriage, and his face, finely cut and attractive, without being handsome, bore an expression of shrewdness and sagacity that did not suggest cunning. During the later years of his life he was so engrossed in public affairs that he had little time and less inclination for social life, and except to a few intimate friends he was essentially a public man.

He often seemed indifferent to public opinion. He was, perhaps, too much so. Yet he was peculiarly sensitive to praise and censure, the more so, doubtless, because he was unwilling to purchase the one, or seek to conciliate the other, by concessions which he regarded as venal. He was not the man to feel the public pulse before making up his own mind. He was governed by principle, not by policy. But in the application of principles no one was more practical. He was not a theorist, and while believing that moral principles should underlie legislation, he realized that perfect righteousness is not always attainable in this world, and that what may be theoretically right is sometimes beyond the power of human legislatures to enact. He was remarkably modest. He never distributed copies of his speeches, and he made no collection of his works for publication. He underestimated

the importance of his public services. He had self-confidence, but not self-assurance ; self-respect, but not self-conceit.

His speeches are models of English style in the purity of their language and in the clearness of their composition. There are in them no metaphorical or other figurative expressions, no classical allusions or poetical quotations. They appealed to the reason and the common sense, not to the passions or the imagination. His was not an eloquence to move the masses, nor to win the applause of the galleries, but was most effective in bringing senators to his point of view. To him the Senate was a legislative body, an assembly convened for business, not an audience for oratorical display. He spoke not to win applause, but to win votes. Consequently it was as a debater, not as an orator, that he excelled, and in the parry and thrust of general debate he was without a peer. The ponderous orations of Sumner, which fill many volumes of his published works, held the Senate spellbound with their matchless eloquence, but the debates in which they were delivered were often influenced more by the five minute speeches of Fessenden, now buried in the columns of the Congressional Globe, than by the learned essays of his fellow Senator, so carefully preserved for an admiring posterity.

Fessenden was vigorous and strong in intellect, keen and sagacious in judgment, practical in striving for results, but the great overshadowing elements of his fame and character were an integrity of purpose yielding to no temptation, persuasion or circumstance, and

a moral and physical courage which no threatened disaster could shake. Utterly indifferent to danger, he trod only the straight path of rectitude.

Maine never had a son before of whom she was so proud. The Senate of the United States never bore upon its long distinguished roll a name deserving more honor. A model senator, with a character that was Roman in the highest sense, inflexible, yet courteous, pure without ostentation.

MINISTRY ON THE KENNEBEC. PERIOD OF THE INDIAN WARS.

BY REV. HENRY O. THAYER.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, January 26, 1899.

THE immigrants to New England were in the main a thoroughly religious people. No hamlet or settlement on the border of the vast wilderness remained long without services of worship or a stated ministry, if the inhabitants could find the means to provide them. At the Kennebec, almost the farthest eastern bound of occupation, pioneer ministers were welcomed, as shown in previous papers concerning Robert Gutch and Ichabod Wiswall.¹

After the wreck of Philip's war, recovery and growth went forward for ten years, 1679-89, though disturbed and weakened by alarm and savage threats. The beginning and nucleus of the new settlement was

¹ Collections Maine Historical Society, Vol. VIII, page 289; Vol. IX, page 113.

on the southern part of Arrowsic Island. Here was the protecting fort and business center, a local seat of town government. Here duty to religion was not omitted. Threescore years subsequently an aged woman, giving testimony concerning former residents and lands, incidentally designated this town center as the place "where the people went to meeting." How permanent the services were, nothing can disclose. The fort offered the sufficient audience room. The garrison houses were usually for a time not only sanctuaries of refuge but sanctuaries of worship. I have not discovered one name of any who ministered in holy things for a single Sunday. Occasional preaching by clergymen visiting the East is probable, or even brief terms of missionary labor, or simple services conducted by laymen. All is blank, save the one line of testimony disclosing customary religious worship at Newtown. Before an established ministry could be enjoyed came the ruin and woe of the second war, and eastern Maine was again swept clean.

A quarter of a century went by, then enterprise again entered the Kennebec and occupied the lands. A compact defensible settlement with outlying farms projected for forty families overlaid the desolations of Newtown. It gained incorporation, though in veriest infancy, on May 1, 1716, and in honor of the new king, took the name Georgetown. Then orderly town existence, according to usage and law, included services of religion. Action of the town respecting a gospel ministry is unknown, as the records of the early period long ago disappeared. This waif of fact, how-

ever, has been found: Rev. Hugh Adams resided at Arrowsic Island during a part of the year 1716.¹ Graduated at Harvard in 1697, he spent several years in the South, and returning, was settled in the ministry at Braintree, Massachusetts, in 1707, but removed to Chatham in 1711. In April, 1717, he entered on an engagement with the people of Durham, New Hampshire, and there gathered a church in the following year. Upon these facts can be based the presumption that in the intervening year, 1716, he was similarly employed at Arrowsic; that he went in the hope to become the minister of the new town, but failed to gain favor. It is quite improbable that he was chaplain to the soldiers. Ministers and chaplains on the frontier were often versed in the healing art, and unto Mr. Adams the noted Jesuit, Sebastian Ralé applied for some ailment. In view of the cure effected, Mr. Adams hoped for the Norridgewock missionary's gratitude and favor thereafter to the English. In this he was disappointed, and holding views and sentiments trenching closely upon fanaticism, he put forth some strange prophecies regarding Indian wars.

Though Eliot and the Mayhews labored successfully among the Indians, Massachusetts was dilatory in organized missionary work. Taught harsh lessons by savage wars, she made the attempt in the interests of peace as well as religion, but then it was too late and ended mostly in failure. A report of French operations on the Maine coast, sent to the government in 1694, tells that Thury, the Jesuit at Penobscot, found

¹ Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. III, page 322.

his work embarrassed, as he had learned that a minister had come to Pemaquid fort in order to teach the little savages to read and write. This must refer to Rev. John Pike, appointed chaplain to the newly built fort, who served there two and one-half years. I do not learn from any other source that Mr. Pike attempted missionary labor in any form, yet some endeavor is probable. His presence there was not at all pleasing to M. Thury, who had fears for his young charges, lest they be seduced from the faith.

A resolution by the House of Representatives in 1700 declared the need to send able, learned, orthodox ministers to the eastward Indians, and to those on the Merrimac; it was proposed that they reside among them, instruct and win them to Christianity; that they should not engage in trade; that they should have £120 yearly; that application should be made to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to aid in the plan. Duty, prudence, a commendable purpose were manifested, yet not carried into execution, as I can learn, by a single messenger sent to the eastern tribes. Soon peaceful relations were ruptured, and ten years of Queen Anne's war prohibited the missionary.

When again at Arrowsic, Brunswick and vicinity, settlements were renewed, the former project was revived. Yet it seems that Massachusetts was awakened first by the Indian's voice. In November, 1716, a message from them went up to the government from Brunswick, requesting that a small house for their worship be built. The intent of this plan is not clear.

Were any already proselytes to the Protestant faith? Or was it duty and devoutness inculcated by the teachings of Sebastian Ralé, and hence they wished a place for the rites of their customary and required worship? Still the application came from the Androscoggins, a tribe not brought under Ralé's influence to the same extent as the Kennebecs. The request aroused the people. At once a committee of the House reported:—"Inasmuch as Providence seems now to give us a more favorable opportunity than heretofore of offering to instruct the Eastern Indians in Religion and Learning, which has been one professed intention of our ancestors settling in this land, and is the surest way to fix them in our interest—that it be earnestly recommended to the House to project a method for effecting the same." Another report, on November 22, presented a plan which was accepted:—"To provide some ordained minister to go to Fort George, Brunswick, to learn the language, to visit the Indians, to insinuate himself into their friendship, to promise them a meeting-house for the worship of God if they will attend it." An annual salary of £150 was proposed; a young scholar was to be sent to learn the language and be assistant and schoolmaster; a sum of £20 was provided to purchase "curiosities" for the children as stimulus and reward; the Foreign Society was to be invited to aid in the work.¹

For such an undertaking Rev. Joseph Baxter was selected. Graduated at Harvard in 1693, he was two years later called to the ministry in the town of

¹ Journal of Massachusetts House of Representatives.

Medfield. Evidently there were then fastidious and exacting parishes, for thirty-two candidates had sought the acceptance of this people, but this stripling, not yet nineteen, disclosed qualities and attractiveness which gained for him the honor. Even then he was regarded too young for ordination, and the people waited for him to grow — older, and perhaps wiser — then in April, 1697, accorded to him the full rights of the ministry when he lacked a few months of twenty-one years of age. He proved a man of ability and gained distinction; was also an enterprising business manager and accumulated property.

An invitation was extended to him in June, 1717. It represented public authority, was virtually a call from the people by their legislators to enter on this charitable, though difficult and delicate task. Whatever his personal reluctance, he expressed willingness to go for six or twelve months, if his town could be provided with a minister. Arrangements were effected that permitted his release. He sailed for the Kennebec in the retinue of Gov. Shute, when he went to the conference with the Indians at Arrowsic, August, 1717. In the colloquy, the missionary and the Bible were offered to them. The reply by the chief Wiwurna was diplomatic yet clear: — they wished to be excused in regard to the Bible; they received as from God and loved the ministers who had already taught them; it would be wrong and displeasing to God to turn from that teaching; also they were not capable of judging about religion.¹ But in fact, capable or not of judging,

¹ Collections of Maine Historical Society, Vol. III, page 367.

they deliberately chose and would stand by the priest and repel the Protestant.

The official reply was adverse, a manifest repulse, yet the missionary went forward with the plan, applied himself to the language, made acquaintance with such as he could, and seems to have gained the general good-will. He had conversation with many, at public services had points of his sermons interpreted to them, and in four months seems to have been able to preach in their language.

Meanwhile Mr. Baxter was a minister to the Kennebec people. He preached, as his journal shows,¹ chiefly at Georgetown, a few times at Brunswick, and once at Small Point. He mentions the burial of six persons and baptism of six children. A visitor, Mr. Elmore, aided him by preaching at an afternoon service in October. He returned to Boston in November, making report of his work, and for a few weeks visiting his home and church. His wife — the third, married the previous year — had been with him till this time.

Nothing appears to show the direct results of his mission, which continued till the middle of the following May. Still it was sufficiently hopeful to be extended. A committee of the House conferred with him, and made report on June 27, (1718). They mention Mr. Baxter's modest sense of his own capacity for such service, and his readiness to enter on it again if his church would allow. They, however, were not willing. A letter from the officers of the church of Medfield gives details.²

¹ New England Historic-Genealogical Register, Vol. XXI, pages 45 to 59.

² Massachusetts Historical Collections, Sewall's Letter Book, Vol. II, page 95.

They say a request formerly was made to dismiss their minister to go and instruct the eastward Indians. They had objected for reasons given — the conditions in their town and church. The request was renewed for them to release him six months for an experiment. To this they had acceded in their desire to please; but his absence proved to be nine months. Now, they say, your honors send again, as by a letter of July 20, 1718. They in reply state their difficulties in the way of a release, the sincere discussion by the church and the decision that they had no call of God to dismiss their pastor, and no one voted to do so.

The church and people of Medfield had chosen and settled the young man as their minister; a score of years had proved his worth; they expected a life tenure of his office. The accepted view of the ministerial relation gave them rights in the matter. They knew they had a valuable man, and were selfish no doubt in holding him fast. A broader view might have required to subordinate the apparent interests of a single church to the general interests of religion: a larger missionary zeal might have discerned a Macedonian call to yield their appreciated minister when by personal fitness, knowledge of the language, acquaintance with the natives, he had become so well equipped for the desirable work which the State had undertaken. The decision of the Medfield church seems to have ended Mr. Baxter's mission at the Kennebec,¹ nor do I learn that any one went to take his

¹ A longer mission is indicated in some works—1717-31. His journal shows that in the latter year he made a voyage in the company of land proprietors to the projected settlement at St. George, calling at Small Point and Arrowale on the way, but he was in no way engaged in missionary work.

place. Indeed in a year's time the era of good-will was disturbed by the restiveness and threatening attitude of the Indians. The three year's war— or Dummer's war—which followed, really six years of hostility, forbade missionary endeavor.

Rev. Mr. Baxter had been more than a missionary, had furnished the inhabitants in good measure for the frontier with the privileges of the stated ministry. In the decade following those privileges largely failed. At Brunswick, Rev. James Woodside preached eleven months from November, 1718, and had then lost the confidence of the people. In July, 1721, Rev. Isaac Taylor entered on a year's ministry, which Brunswick and Topsham shared equally. Rev. Jonathan Pierpont preached at Richmond one Sunday, at least, in June, 1723. This raises the question if he did not for a time, at Arrowsic or Brunswick, serve as chaplain or minister. Still I find no names of any ministering in Georgetown in that decade, though believing there must have been brief terms or an occasional Sabbath's supply. But in the autumn of 1728 a Mr. Cleverly (Clewly ?) completed an engagement at Arrowsic, and another minister was sought. By the depletion of the war, there were then but sixteen families at the island and vicinity, and these proposed to give thirty-two shillings a week to ensure a minister. Evidently at the Kennebec in this period there was neither heathenism nor indifference, but the alarms of war, the weakness of the settlement, the lack of suitable men, denied the greatly desired ministrations.

Massachusetts maintained its policy of missions among the Indians. In 1726, at the close of the

war, the House considered the practicability of sending some one to the eastern tribes, and took action again in 1732. At this date, probably earlier, Rev. Stephen Parker began missionary labor, and was stationed at Richmond fort. I find no names of others previously employed. Chaplains were now more constantly provided for the forces which guarded the frontier, as at Brunswick in 1730, and at Richmond, Mr. Parker till 1737, and Rev. Mr. Pierpont, 1739-42.

A notable increase of immigrants to the Maine settlements in 1728-30 strengthened religious institutions. Soon in the district in which Arrowsic was central a church was formed. Only so much is known concerning the fact as derived from original members was drawn from the memory of Deacon Joshua Philbrook, about 1820, when he was above ninety years of age. He simply states that "Rev. Mr. McClanethan was ordained over a church in Georgetown in 1734." It has therefore been presumed that the church was then organized, though he does not say it, yet this is the sole authority for the date.¹ Rev. Mr. Greenleaf² doubts a proper pastoral relation, and thinks that this minister, previously ordained an evangelist, was engaged by the church. His narrative implies that the records of the presbytery are silent. Deacon Philbrook's memory furnished a list of thirty male members of the church, of whom the larger part were assuredly Presbyterian. Indeed, two years after, a house of worship was erected³ and made strictly Presbyterian, and the

¹ MSS. of Hon. M. L. Hill.

² Ecclesiastical Sketches, p. 75.

³ York County Deeds, Vol. XX, folio 48. Collections Maine Historical Society, Vol. VIII, pages 110 to 118.

ownership vested in about thirty men, two-thirds of whom are named in the previous list. Other names of prominent residents omitted were manifestly Congregationalist. A fragment of a church of this order remaining from an organization in the flourishing period before Dummer's war is not improbable. Difficulties arose in the following years between the two denominations, in respect to providing ministers, but fraternal endeavors to harmonize show that the principle of interdenominational comity took early root in Maine, though it withered subsequently.

The ministry of Reverend Wm. Macclenachan,¹ begun in 1734, continued about four years. Yet the journal of Reverend Thomas Smith tells that this man was installed at Cape Elizabeth, November 15, 1736, when the Falmouth pastor "had a clash with him." Upon such an authority, apparently the best, this statement has been widely copied as a fact in the history of the man and the town. Yet it is manifestly error. One of his yearly manuscript journals had no date, and the editor was in doubt, but judging by internal evidence assigned it to 1736. But Mr. Willis, after the publication of his edition of Smith's and Deane's journals, obtained an almanac of 1736, having entries by Mr. Smith plainly inconsistent with those in the one published. In an interleaved copy² he affirmed Mr. Freeman's error and his belief that the one introduced belonged to 1739, and he so entered the date of the installation in his history.³

¹ His form of writing his name, as shown by an autograph in my possession, and copies elsewhere.

² Willis Room: Portland Public Library.

³ History of Portland, page 385.

Completing evidence comes from Georgetown. The wife of Mr. Macclenachan was Ann, daughter of James Drummond, a parishioner. It is assumed that he married soon after entering upon his ministry there, for in a few years he took steps to provide a home. In October, 1736, Thomas Westbrook, in a grant of land, terms him, "now minister in the meeting-house standing near the house of Lieut. Arthur Noble."¹

In August, 1737, Macclenachan purchased two parcels of land in the vicinity of that meeting-house,² and a record shows that in November a road was laid leading to it, and by "the house he was then building." This evidence shows beyond question the continuation of his residence at Georgetown through 1737. Something, however, intruded upon the hopeful prospect of his ministry and his home, for in February, 1739, the town record reveals plans to obtain a minister, and supplies for the pulpit since the previous September. A court record also mentions Mr. Macclenachan as a resident of Falmouth, in 1739. These facts comport precisely with the assignment by Mr. Willis of the misplaced journal to that year. Hence all future writers dealing with our ecclesiastical history, should make November 15, 1739, the date of the installation at Cape Elizabeth, with a probable candidacy of some months or a year.

In the year 1738 the municipality sometimes called "Georgetown on Arrowsic Island," was extended to circumjacent territory. The Presbyterian house of

¹ Vide Mr. Wm. Goold's article and note, Collections Maine Historical Society, Vol. VIII, pages 111 to 118. York Deeds, Vol. XX.

² York Deeds, Vol. XX: folio 2.

worship erected previously, largely by the favor of Colonel Noble and the Pejepscot proprietors near the northern bound of the present Phippsburg, was nearly central and became the meeting-house of the new town.¹ A candidate to succeed Rev. Mr. Macclenachan was found in Rev. James Morton. Having served a few months, he was, in December, 1739, engaged to continue till the end of May. In March a proposition was made for his ordination and settlement. But the people were Presbyterian and Congregationalist, the former probably now the stronger, and the two denominations did not coalesce. Yet in a considerate and fraternal spirit they sought "settled peace and harmony," desired strongly the maintenance of the gospel in town, also that each party "should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and that neither might compel the other to support the gospel contrary to their profession." As a result of a conference by leading men, it was determined that each "persuasion" should endeavor to settle its own minister; it was stipulated what salary each should have if two were obtained, and what if only one ministered in the town; in the latter case, upon his death or departure, the other denomination should have the right of precedence in choosing another minister. Thus an adjustment was reached as amicable and fair as could well be with persons tenacious of their own views of church order.

The Presbyterian people, in July, 1740, gave Mr. Morton a call, which he then declined, offering to

¹ "The meeting-house on Pleasant Cove." Records of Town.

leave at once, or to remain till spring and then to leave if he could not accept, if the people still desired it. Mr. Morton continued and his people took no action. The Congregationalists do not appear to have had any candidates and they temporarily accepted Mr. Morton. However, in October, they sought to know their associates' intentions with regard to him, but could get no definite statement. The Presbyterians seem disposed to let matters drift as they were. The Congregationalists therefore believed that in fidelity to the mutual agreement they had no right to obtain a minister of their choice, so they continued in the drift with their brethren.

A blank page of the records shuts from view further particulars, but payment of salary makes probable the stay of Mr. Morton till May, 1741.

In this period the meetings were held at three places:—during four winter months at Nequasset (Woolwich) and the meeting-house; at the latter place and Southern Arrowsic for the rest of the year, alternating as would best suit the tide. Subsequently all were at the meeting-house.

After Mr. Morton's departure, it is not known what steps were taken by the two parties: the mere entry of a name seems evidence that one George Thompson was a transient supply. Likewise the payment of salary to Rev. Robert Rutherford shows that he preached not more than five or six Sabbaths at an uncertain date, which can best be assigned to the autumn of 1741, or the following spring.¹

¹ Not in 1743 as Greenleaf and others write. In that year he was paid a sum "formerly voted."

Now destitute of a minister, the minds of the people turned again to Rev. Mr. Macclenachan. There was much of brilliancy and attractiveness in this man, and it is safely presumed that he was widely welcomed in Georgetown. His second term of service is quite clearly shown;—from May, 1742, to July, 1744. There must have been visits of negotiation, or absences, or devious movements by this “ardent and impulsive” man, since the committee claim recompense “for fetching him and family several times from Casco.” However, two years suffice, and he is gone, was a teacher in Brunswick a while, then in 1748 was preaching in Chelsea, Massachusetts. Next follows a surprising step, for in 1755 he returned to the Kennebec valley equipped with new views and a new ordination laid on him in England, to serve as an Episcopal missionary. Again he appears on the scene of former labors at Georgetown, and conducts worship after the forms of the Church of England. For a time in 1756 he went regularly from his station at Frankfort (Pownalboro) to Georgetown on each third Sabbath, and in that period of peril was attended by a file of soldiers. Bereaving circumstances also fell on him — harsh and terrible; a daughter, in 1752, on an eastward voyage, had been drowned in the vessel’s wreck at Cape Ann. Now a son is accidentally and instantly killed while in a gunning float at Eastern River, October 19, 1756. Two days after, the tide swept boats and attendants with the body down the river for burial in the Presbyterian kirkyard at Georgetown. Time has ever been a ruthless vandal, slowly crumbling and sweeping into ruin the memorials of the dead of the long ago;

but here rapidly, for perhaps threescore years had passed when that burial place was overlaid by barns and barnyards, and marking stones were cast out to ignoble uses, and sometimes the desecrated soil would be crushed in by the feet of brutes to mingle with the ashes of the dead. Rev. Mr. Macclenachan continued the mission work about three years and removed to Philadelphia.

Not a name appears even of a transient supply at Georgetown from 1744, when Mr. Macclenachan left, to 1747. In the summer and autumn of this year, Daniel Michel preached several months. He had been graduated at Edinburg, and licensed by the Boston Presbytery. The duty to obtain a minister had been laid on Samuel Denny, Esq., who should take the advice of six Boston ministers: afterwards three only were allowed to be a sufficient board of recommendation. The right now belonged to the Congregationalists whom Esquire Denny represented, but they seem to have waived their privilege in favor of the Presbyterians.

In the summer of 1748 (July?) Mr. Alexander Boyd, a young Scotsman, made an engagement for three months. The people were interested to retain him, and sent Thomas Stinson, of Nequasset, a leading elder, to Londonderry in October, to prevail with the Presbytery to send him for a year or even a less time. The same duty was laid on Elder Stinson in the following March. In July a call to Mr. Boyd was voted, but discovery of an irregular marriage contracted in Scotland by Mr. Boyd, and concealed, brought him under rebuke, yet in view of penitence, his licence

was not revoked. The people seem to have regarded this young man as a prize, and in the three succeeding years endeavored to secure him permanently, renewing the call which he accepted previous to March, 1752. They proposed ordination in Boston at the hands of the Presbytery. Again, early in April, 1753, they preferred request, now desiring that the ordination occur in town. The Presbytery conditionally agreed, yet hindrances not to be discovered prevented the settlement. During the negotiations, Mr. Boyd preached in town a part of the time, and though the question was determined before June, it is probable he supplied the pulpit somewhat during the summer. In the following year he made a permanent location at Newcastle, where he had occasionally ministered for several years.

After the summer of 1753 the ministry in Georgetown, even transient supplies, almost failed. The name of Ephraim Clark shows his labor for a Sabbath: he was soon installed at Cape Elizabeth. An invitation was given to Reverend [John] Morehead, a leading Presbyterian of Boston, to preach a Sabbath or two, while on a visit eastward. Episcopal services were held occasionally, which evidently were privileges acceptable to but few. There must have been more than a lack of ministers, even a low tide in religious affairs. The anxieties caused by the French war, the raids of Indians, soldiers furnished, garrisons manned, were no sufficient excuse for the existing "dearth in hearing the word of God"; but with the dawn and full day of peace came a quickened pulse of church life.

The foregoing outlines of religious movements extend to 1760. It is fitting to add a brief statement concerning new houses of worship. In the closing decade Georgetown fell apart into three sections. A new parish (now Bath) projected its house of worship in 1754, but did not begin the erection till 1760, nor make it available for use for two or more years. Nequasset (Woolwich) erected its sanctuary in 1757, which modernized, still (1899) well convenes the church and worshipers. Also for the lower Kennebec, one was built on southern Arrowsic in 1761. These were provided under the prevailing parish system for the common use of all the people.

The Episcopal sentiment fostered by the mission of Rev. Mr. Macclenachan and successors required sanctuaries. A chapel at Fort Richmond, previously constructed for the convenience of soldiers and settlers, perhaps in aid of the mission of Rev. Mr. Parker, convened the congregation, as did suitable dwelling-houses elsewhere. The building of the court house on the east side in 1761 furnished better accommodations.

The proceedings at Georgetown have excited inquiry. The records of the missionary society show that in 1757 there was no church, and that in 1761 "the people had begun to build one which was then in great forwardness." But in 1769 the missionary who had been there only a year writes that "his people have erected the frame of a church since his coming."¹ It is now well assured that the first church mentioned was erected on Arrowsic on the east of the river, and near Fiddler's Reach, upon a farm owned

¹ Collections Maine Historical Society, Vol. III, pages 276 to 277.

by James Drummond, probably the father of Mrs. Macclenachan. However, it was never completed, nor services held in it, for unknown reasons was abandoned, sold, and removed. Its site, disclosing lines of foundation stones yet remaining, was visited by a delegation of the Field Day party of the Historical Society in 1891. The second church was built just across the river, and near or upon the very site of the Scottish Presbyterian kirk of 1736. The latter by cessation of Presbyterian worship, had with the land reverted to the heirs of Col. Noble, and was now possessed by Major Wm. Lithgow. Evidently much out of repair and unsuitable, it gave place to the new church properly consecrated to the rites of the Church of England. Doubtless it had been used previous to the new structure by the several missionaries. These several churches formed the equipment for succeeding years.

NOTE. After the former paper, "Robert Gutch the Pioneer," was published, I was much gratified to obtain information concerning his ancestry, by the favor of a representative of one branch of the ancient family, Mr. Wilfrid Gutch, of London. He exhibits the "probable ancestry," which appears to be certified as the real by extracts from public records.

1. Will of Magdalen Gutch, widow, of Glastonbury, Somerset, dated October 15, 1668, mentions "the children of my son, Robert Gutch, in case my son Robert be living at the date hereof"; also "my daughter Lidiah, the wife of my son, Robert Gutch."

2. Will of John Gutch, husband of the above Magdalen, dated 9 October, 1662, makes bequests to "my son Robert"; "my son Robert, his now wife"; "to his son John"; "to the rest of his children."

3. Will of Clement Gutch, of Glastonbury, 1632, has bequest to "Mandlen, my son John, his wife"; "Robert, their son."

The line of ancestry for five generations will be:—

5. Robert of Kennebec.

4. John (and Magdalen), of Glastonbury.

3. Clement, of Glastonbury.

2. John, of Tisbury, Wilts.

1. Clement, of Tisbury, died 1565.

The register of the parish of St. John Baptist, in Glastonbury, has the entry:—"1617. Robert, the son of John Gutch, baptized ye 5th day of April."

Hence at his untimely death by drowning, "the pioneer minister of the Kennebec" lacked some months of fifty years.

THE FIRST OCCUPANCY BY EUROPEANS
OF SACCARAPPA FALLS ON THE
PRESUMPSHOT RIVER, NOW
WESTBROOK.

BY LEONARD B. CHAPMAN.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 25, 1896.

ANY person who changes his place of abode, particularly from an old settled country to a new, or to a place where there is not a settlement, may be truly called an adventurer.

The time from the date at which the inhabitants were last driven from the soil of Old Falmouth, till the time of the permanent settlement, was so long that all who came here then can, therefore, truly be called adventurers. Many, it is true, who came at the time of the last settlement were descendants of former occupants, but most were drawn hither by fairy tales and from a love of gain, or, in other words, gratification of a commendable desire to carve from nature a home unaided.

Land at that particular period was obtainable at first for the mere asking. The mast-tree, the pine, less commanding in appearance, but of the finest quality for mill-logs, other kinds of trees, and game were here in plentiful quantities. Mill privileges were here, too, in proportion to the mill-trees, and grain-producing qualities of the soil. And the mill streams were read-

ily utilized. No price, however, was put upon them, for they were incentives to an industry that was for the time a necessity to livelihood. But I do not intend in this paper to indulge in assertion, or imagery. Documentary evidence, upon which every historical statement should be founded, is my forte at this time, and constructed from material obtained from careful research.

In the old Falmouth records, Vol. I, page 258, I find as follows :—

Accordingly there met again on July ye 9th 1728. The Free holders and other Inhabitants and persons to the officers of sd meeting.

Voted also that Samuel Proctor John Perney Simond Armstrong have the privilege of a stream granted them upon condition they find it within the bounds of ye Town of Falmouth that is not already Granted or appropriated by any others to build a saw mill upon, they to make choyce of and to make the Return of ye streeme so choosen unto the select men in three months Ensuing and to build said mill on said streem In Eighteen months after ye report be Brought as above said, and to pay ye usull custome for sawing of Boards and timber to ye Town &c and to saw for any person that Bring Timber for them and Houses and Buildings to ye halves.

Voted also that Benjamin Ingalls, Robert Perce, Benjamin Larabee and John Bailey have the privilege of a streem Granted them to build a Saw mill on, on ye same condition and consideration as Expressed In ye above vote Relating to ye Mill Streems.

Voted also that all Streemes Granted by ye Town to Build mills upon shall have the priviledge ye ffalls and Landing for a convenience of laying their Timber & Boards on, upon each side of the falls where the mill is built.

In Vol. II, page 21, 1729, is a record of which the following is a copy :—

According to ye vote of ye Town wee ye subscribers do choose ye Falls ye third falls in presumpscot River and Known by ye name of Sacerape so called by ye Indians.

This Report to ye Selectmen of Falmouth.

as witness our hands
this 12th day of July, 1728.

Benj Ingalls
Robert Pearce
Benj Larrabee Jr
John Bailey.

In the same volume and page 20 is a record that reads as follows : —

Laid out to Benj Ingalls, John Bailey, Benj Larraby & Co., adjoining on ye falls called Sacrape — being the third falls on Presumpscot River in ye town of Falmouth for the privilege of Laying there timber and boards on, a certain tract of land on each side of falls and is bounded as follows

Begining att a white oak tree on the north Easterly side of the River and thence E. 36 deg S. 13 Rod to a tree, (E) and thence E. 41 dg S. 15 Rod to a tree and thence S. 29 dg W. 19 Rod to a tree Standing by the side of ye River, and thence begining on on ye South west side of ye River at a white pine tree standing too Rods from ye River West 30 degrees south and thence south 35 degrees West 15 Rod to a tree and thence south 12 degrees West twenty-two Rod to a tree and thence East 28 degrees South thirty-four Rod to a tree, and thence East 11 degrees north sixteen Rod to a tree standing by ye river.

Laid out by us.	Benj Larrabee Samle Cobb Samll Proctor	} Committee Falm. Dc, 3 1729.
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On page 71 of the 1849 printed edition of Smith's and Dean's Journal may be found the following entry, which is wrong as I have shown from the records just presented : —

In 1729, December 2, Saccarappe Fall were granted to Benjamin Ingersoll, Joshua Bailey and Benjamin Larrabee Jr. & Co. for a

saw mill. This was the commencement of lumbering operations on the Presumpscot, which were continued for more than one hundred years affording liberal return for capital and industry employed.

In this note *John* Bailey is called Joshua, and the name of Robert Pearce does not appear at all.

On the fourth of December, 1732, the Proprietors' committee laid out to one Daniel Godfrey, on the southwesterly side of the Presumpscot, thirty acres of land commencing the bounds ten rods *up* the river from the falls.

On the thirty-first day of March of the same year there was laid out to John Tyng a hundred acre lot on the southerly side of the river, beginning bounds at Saccarappa Falls and running *down* the river one hundred and twenty-six and one-half rods, and from the two points southerly the same distance as indicated in the foregoing.

On the tenth day of May, same year, there was "laid out to the right of James Simpson ten acres of land beginning at the South east side of Daniel Godfrey's thirty acre lot and run down Presumpscot river, bounded upon Sackerapy mill yard till it meets with the John Tyng's 100 acres at the lowermost part of ye Falls, and then run back into the woods the same course of Tyng's and Godfrey's lots, till ten acres are made up."

The northeasterly corner of the Simpson lot and the northwesterly corner of the Tyng lots met at what is now Bridge Street, where the street joins the iron bridge structure.

Upon the southwesterly side of the Simpson lot, there was granted to Moses Pearson, July 17, 1738, a fifty acre lot, the same length of the Simpson lot.

On the northerly side of the river the Cooper claim, so called, covered nearly the whole territory, commencing at and including what is now known as Cumberland Mills' mill privilege a well-worn plan, which, bearing date of 1742, may be seen in the old Proprietor's Records deposited in the Cumberland Registry of Deeds, at Portland.

To Hon. Fabius M. Ray, of Westbrook, I am, in common with the public, indebted for much historical information, his gracefully guided pen having furnished many articles read with feelings of both pleasure and profit. He has written much relative to the early history of Saccarappa. In the Deering News of June 1, 1895, appears the following, first appearing in the Westbrook Globe-Star, a journal of that city: —

There is a prevailing impression based upon, I know not how strong, traditional authority that the first sawmills were soon after erected upon the northerly shore of the "Island," where Dana's mill now stands, and as soon as possible put in operation. An industry of so much importance, in the midst of a virgin forest, could not fail to call in a considerable number of workmen who would naturally bring along their families and erect themselves dwellings in the immediate vicinity. But to Joseph Conant, born in Beverly, on the 9th day of November, 1701, tradition ascribes the honor of having made the first permanent settlement in Saccarappa, and probably the first within our present corporate limits. Too often traditions are entirely baseless and misleading, and should, therefore, always be received with great caution. But this one I am disposed to credit as an historic verity; for it has always been accepted in the old families of the village and repeated, each time that

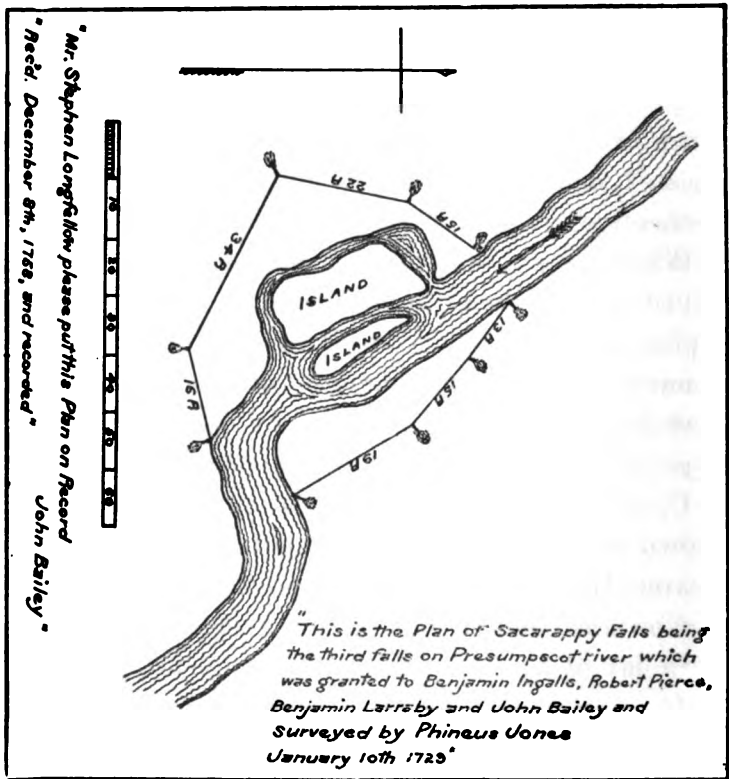
I have heard it during a residence here of more than thirty years, with little or no variation.

Now I am obliged to differ with the writer of the above, and feel that when I have stated the facts in my possession, he will agree with me. A dwelling upon leased land, or in other words, the owner of a building who does not own the land under it, very frequently makes for himself, as well as the public, much trouble. This was the case with the Conant-Haskell domicile, to be noticed further on in this connection.

When the grant to the falls at Saccarappa was surveyed, which survey bears date of December 3, 1729, a plan was made thereof by Phineas Jones, and dated January 10, 1729, but was not put on record in the Proprietors' books till December 8, 1758, the plan on page 288 being a facsimile of the original:—

Upon the southwesterly side of the large island shown upon the plan here presented, Messrs. Ingalls, Pearce, Larrabee, and Bailey built their sawmill. It is shown as being at this place by a plan made on the 28th day of April, 1742, by Wm. Pote Jr., (a copy of which may be seen in the Registry of Deeds office, Vol. XXIII, folio 81, York County), not, however, to show the location of the mill, but the Simpson ten-acre grant. But the strain upon Pearce was too severe for his purse, and the sheriff disposed of his interest in the mill enterprise, which fell to the lot of Rev. Thomas Smith, of Portland, and from Smith Joseph Conant obtained some sort of a title to the privilege which was then questionable, but is now

good. Volume XXI, folio 275, of York Deeds, bearing date 1739, shows, however, that he, Conant, made a purchase of John Bailey of "part of a mill and stream of water, for which he agreed to pay £150."



Then came the turn of Benjamin Larrabee to dis-
pose of his interest, which he did on the 24th day of
January, 1739, to John Bailey, tailor, and Joseph
Bailey, a cordwainer, the last named residing where
the Mussey Block stands on Middle Street in Portland,
and a brother to John Bailey, the record of the tran-

saction showing there was a mill at that period "fitted for four iron crows and eight iron dogs and two saws." (For a record of Joseph Bailey see Portland Daily Argus of March 15, 1889.)

In 1740, Daniel Godfrey, who had the thirty-acre grant westerly of Saccarappa, and ten rods above the falls, who did not marry, and whose will was made in 1750 and is on record at Alfred, built a mill on the northerly side of the small island which appears in the Pote plan. From Godfrey's title came the Titcomb title, from which privilege came the privilege upon which the paper mill was built between the years of 1795 and 1798, which mill went to Messrs. Partridge and Tower and was burned in the year 1813, an account of which fire may be seen in the file of the Portland Eastern Argus of that time.

Soon after the Tyng and Simpson grants were made, both lots were purchased by Gen. Samuel Waldo, who owned the land on the northerly side of the river, so the mill privilege lot was surrounded by Waldo's land, except on the westerly side, which was owned, as I have shown, by Daniel Godfrey.

As I have said, Joseph Conant obtained liberty from Rev. Thomas Smith to use the water of the Presumpscot for mill purposes, but he could not obtain land for a house lot, and so he bridged the river for the purpose, and built himself a house on the northerly side thereof. But how do we know this? From the manuscript records, I say, and taken in connection with the plan here presented, makes the early history of Saccarappa much plainer to the public than ever

before. And where can the records be found? Among the court files at Alfred in a suit of Waldo vs. Haskell, and here are two copies of depositions, made from the originals: —

Joseph Conant of Falmouth in the county of York aged Fifty Eight years testifys and Says that in or about the Month of May 1739 he built and finished a Saw Mill at Saccarabegg Falls on the South West Side of Pesumpscut River, where not having convenient Land of his own to build a House on near the said Mill, where his constant Attendance was necessary, and there being no Other Land that the Deponent could procure that was Scituated more commodiously therefor, than a certain Tract on the North East Side of said River, which he the Deponent understood was owned by Coll^o. Thomas Westbrook, and Samuel Waldo of Boston Esq, which was Called by some people by the Name of Coopers Claim, and by Others the Town Right that he understood the said M^r Waldo was then in England, and that Coll^o Westbrook and said M^r Waldo were interested together in divers Tracts of Land in s^d Falmouth, and that Coll^o Westbrook had for Several years before the Year afore mentioned employed his Workmen in Masting thereon, and in the Neighbouring Woods, That he the Deponent apply'd to said Westbrook for Leave to build a Small House at Saccarabegg Falls on the North East Side of the River, who told him he might, but at the same Time asked the Deponent if he intended to keep the Possession to which he answered no, but that he might have it again when he pleas'd; upon which said Westbrook told him he might build and live there and welcome.

That hereupon the Deponent on the 18th day of December in the Year 1739 began to build said House on the North East Side of Saccarabegg Falls, having hired John Thomes Nathan Winslow, Jeremy Riggs & Thomas Haskell to do the same, and they the said Thomes, Winslow Riggs and Haskell, together with the Deponent rais'd and inclos'd said House in the five Succeeding working Days, from the Time they began abovementioned the Deponent then discharg'd the three first mentioned Workmen, and retained Thomas Haskell only to assist him, to cover said House and to do some

inside Work, which took him four Days and an half more, and then he discharg'd said Haskell, and then or some Time afterwards paid him for said nine Days and an half's Work. In every Short Time after said Haskell's Discharge, this Deponent with his Workmen went to live in said new House, and Continued there in quiet and Peaceable Possession thereof Several Months then next following, without the least Interruption from any person whatever, untill by an Alarm and Intelligence of Mischief being done by the Indians in the neighbouring Frontier Settlement called Gorham town at the Distance of about Six Miles from his the Deponents House aforementioned, which Alarm was about Seventeen or Eighteen Years ago, as near as he can remember, That upon the Alarm and Intelligence afore mentioned the Deponent with Thomas Haskell and divers other persons got together in Order to go up to s^d Gorhamtown to bury the Dead (as they heard they were all destroy'd) and did go part of the Way there, leaving behind him in his House afore mentioned what Goods and Furniture he had there That finding the Indians had done no Mischief at Gorhamtown afores^d they return'd and this Depon^t when he came to his House afores^d found that the Wife of the said Thomas Haskell and his Family had taken Possession thereof and upon his Enquiring into the Cause of so extraordinary a Proceeding She told him twas best to be all together in Time of Warr, and that s^d Deponents House was a good Place for a Garrison. And this Deponents Affairs requiring his Residence at Saccarabegg Falls near his s^d Mill finding he could not persuade s^d Haskell to move out of s^d House, and being poorly able to pursue him in Law, and not having any Title to the Land himself, upon s^d Haskells Wife's promising to dress his Victuals for him was necessitated as well as he could to accommodate himself in said House with the said Haskell whom he had before hired and paid for his Labour in assisting to build the Same; but he received such Treatment from s^d Haskells Wife as soon made his Life very uneasy, insomuch that he was Obliged to quit the said House in a short time.

This Deponent also testifys and says that he well remembers Coll^o Westbrook was imploy'd by s^d M^r Waldo in providing Masts for his Majesty's Navy, and that for several Years before the

Year 1789, said Westbrook for the Accommodation of his Workmen, had a Store House and Shed built at Saccarabegg Falls on the North East Side of Presumpscut River, and further saith not

Joseph Conant

York ss. Falmouth Decer 26 1758

Joseph Conant the foregoing Deponent Living att Falmouth & More than thirty Miles from York the place where the Action to which ye foregoing Deposition Relates is to be try^d first being Exam^d & Cautioned to Speak y^e whole truth made Oath to y^e Truth of the foregoing Deposition by him Subscribed; the Adverse party viz. Thom^s Haskall was Notified but not present.

Sworn before me Moses Pearson Justice peace.

John Stevens of a Place called New Marblehead in the County of York Farmer aged 46 years or thereabouts testifieth & saith that on or about the first of April Anno Domini One thousand seven hundred and forty, the Deponent with his Family removed from a place called Back Cove in the Township of Falmouth, to a place called Saccarabegg within the said Township, and there by agreement with M^r Joseph Connant of said Falmouth he lived in one End of a House, which s^d Connant had then lately built on the North East Side of Saccarabegg Falls within a certain Tract called and well known by the name of Coopers Claim, and remained with his Family many Months in the same but how many the Deponent doth not remember, the first part of which time and according to the best of the Deponents remembrance near one half thereof, he quietly and peaceably enjoyed the part of the House aforementioned and the said M^r Connant in like manner held and enjoyed the other part of the s^d House.

That the Deponent further saith that upon an Alarm and a rumur of a Number of People being killed by the Indians at a place in the Neighbourhood called Gorhamtown at about 5 or 6 Miles distance from s^d Connants House, in the absence of him the said Connant, and in the absence of the Deponent, who was then employ'd in the Woods, the said Deponents wife being then in New Hampshire,

Thomas Haskell of Falmouth aforesaid took the advantage thereof, and entered into the Possession of the said House, as the Deponent in his return from the Woods found; that hereupon the Deponent demanded of said Tho^s Haskell the reason thereof, to which he the said Thomas or his Wife answered, that the fear of the Indians was the only cause thereof.

And the Deponent further saith, that he himself being in the said House on Courtesy, he us'd no Violent Means to turn out the said Thomas & his Family, and the Deponent being destitute of any other Accomodation for himself or family remained the other part of the Time aforementioned in the said Joseph's aforesaid House with said Tho^s Haskell & his Family, and the Deponent further saith that during the whole of which time, neither the said Haskell, his Wife or any of the Family, made any pretence of Claim or Title to the said House or to any Lands adjoining thereto, that the Deponent heard of, but presisted in the first Pretence, that the Fear of the Indians brought them thither, and occasioned their Continuance.

And the Deponent further saith that the particular Circumstances or manner of Jos: Connants resentment of this Invasion of his the s^d Connants Property the Deponent was not acquainted with, but as said Connants Business required his Residence at Saccarabegg and his having as the Deponent understood no lawfull Right or Title to the Land his House stood upon, he submitted to the Inconvenience of such Company till he could otherwise provide himself. The Deponent further saith that he removed into a small House near adjoining said Connants, which was built on the same Claim called Coopers Claim, by one Isaac Winter a Logger & Sawyer, who made no pretence of Right or Title to the Land where the said House or Cottage Stood, or any other Land adjoining, but built the same as he said for a then present Accomodation in being near the Saw Mills at said Saccarabegg Falls, and the Deponent purchas'd the Priviledge of s^d House of the said Winter, and paid him Twenty pounds old Tenor for the same. And the Deponent further saith that he liv'd peaceably & quietly in the said purchased House about three Years, within which time Viz^t on the 21st April 1742 Samuel Waldo of Boston Esq^r then lately arriv'd from Great Brittain came to the Deponents said House or Cottage, and on his acquainting the

Deponent of his Claim, which the Deponent had long before heard of, he the Deponent declar'd his Readyness to give up the Possession to said Mr Waldo, who instead of removing the Deponent from the said House, continued him in the possession thereof, and of a Garden Spot of about three Rods of Land for a Term to expire the 25th March then next following, on a Consideration of Five shillings only to be paid for Rent of the premises.

The Deponent further saith that one Samuel Bean had possession of a small House or Cottage on the same side of the River on the Claim aforesaid called Coopers, who on the Day last mentioned, or within a few days thereof, told the Deponent, that he had made Terms for Rent with said Mr Waldo, which agreement the Deponent hath this day seen in the hands of said Mr. Waldo. And the Deponent also testifieth & saith, that in the beginning of the late French War, after the news of Canso being taken by the French, being in the year 1744 this Deponent removed from Saccarabegg for the security of himself & Familly, to a place called Stroudwater in the aforesaid Town of Falmouth, and left behind him in his House last mentioned Sundry Household Goods, and a Weavers Loom to the Value of at least Fifty pounds Old Tenor, and that in his the Deponents absence from his said House about fourteen Days after his leaving the same, the aforementioned Tho^s Haskell his Wife & Sons pulled down the said House, and ruined many of his Goods to his the Deponents great Loss, this the Deponent was able to prove and comenced a Lawsuit against the said Thomas Haskell for the Damages the Deponent received thereby which was afterwards Submitted to an Arbitration, and further saith not

John Stevens

York ss. Falm^o Decer 26 1758

John Stevens the above Deponent (living att a place called New Marblehead more than thirty miles from York y^e place where the Action to which the foregoing Deposition Relates is to be tryed); first being examined and Cautioned to speak the Whole Truth made Oath to the truth of the Above Deposition by him Subscribed, the Adverse party viz Thomas Haskell being Notified but not present

Sworn Before Me Moses Pearson Justice peace.

On page 127 of the 1849 printed edition of Smith's and Dean's journals under date of April 14, 1747 appears an entry, as follows: —

We are all in alarm to-day. Everywhere Indians are seen. They took W. Knights and two sons at Sacaribig.

Among the papers of the file from which the accompanying copies of depositions were made, is one from Knights, and the location of his house is shown on the Pote plan, but he says nothing of his capture.

But who was John Bailey?

He and wife and several children came from Newbury, Massachusetts, and on December 14, 1727, was admitted as a citizen of Falmouth. January 29, he paid the £10 admittance fee, and January 21, 1728, both he and wife were admitted to the church.

They had eight children. John was the eldest. Then came Mary, Joseph, Sarah, Rachel, Elizabeth, William, and David, the youngest, born October 28, 1739, who resided and died at Saccarappa, opposite the Stroudwater road, on land his father gave him.

Dea. John Bailey was then published to Jane Curtis, of Gorham, September, 29, 1741, and had one child, Benjamin, born 1746, married 1773, Mary Blake. He died September 26, 1812. She died August 24, 1817, aged sixty-two years, four months. He made a will September 18, 1812; and they had fourteen children.

The Alfred records of 1743, show that Jane was the widow of John Curtis, and left children: William, James, and Daniel.

In the year, 1731, for a consideration of £45, Dea. John Bailey purchased of Joshua Brackett three acres

of land "where the sd Bailey's house now stands, as the same is now fenced and improved, being part of a tract of land which George Cleeve sold Michael Mitton, which is bounded as follows:" The bounds of the three hundred acre Mitton lot are then stated in the deed. Vol. XXV, folio 50, York Deeds.

Relative to this lot, George Knight and wife, Esther, of the town of Gray, in the year of 1807, testify and say, as follows:

I George Knight, seventy-two years of age next May, testify and say that forty years ago, (1767), I bought an old house of John Bayley, of Falmouth, standing near Anthony Brackett's orchard in Falmouth, and tore it down, and made use of some of the material in helping to build me a new house near where the old wind mill stood in Falmouth, and at the time when I was taking said old house away, said Anthony Brackett's sons approved of my doing it; said they were glad I had bought it. I further say I never heard any person dispute John Bayley's title to the old house, or to a piece of land that had the appearance of an old wall round it whereon said house stood until within these four days past.

Taken at the request of John McLellan, merchant, and Thomas Bailey, gentleman.

Taken at Gray.

(Vol. LI, page 297, Cumberland County Registry of Deeds.)

I, Ester Knighte, wife of George Knighte, testify and say, am sixty years of age. My father, John Boatman, moved my mother, with myself and five other children, from Purpoorduck side over into a house standing near Anthony Brackett's orchard, called John Bailey's house, and by his leave we lived in it about six months; then my father moved us back again. Said moving was in consequence of fear of Indians. I further say that forty-three years ago my present husband, George Knight, bought the house of John Bailey and took it down.

Given at Gray, February 14, 1807. (Recorded as above.)

Jane Bailey sold to Anthony Brackett the three-acre lot purchased by John Bailey in 1731, to which the foregoing has reference. (Vol. LV, page 288, 1770, Consideration 16 £.)

In the year 1732 there was a seventy-nine-acre lot laid out to John Bailey at the "Narrows of the Neck," with other lots, which event Parson Smith notices. The bounds thereof commenced at the westerly corner of John Thomes' lot, and that corner was where Edward M. Thomes resides at Libby's Corner, Deering, at the present time. (Vol. I, page 87, Proprietors' Records.)

The lot next westerly of the Bailey lot that was assigned to Rev. Thomas Smith, John Bailey purchased in 1735. (York Deeds, Vol. XVII, folio 256.)

In the year 1735 Deacon Bailey was chosen tax collector of Falmouth.

In the year 1750, when the bridge at Stroudwater over Fore River was made a toll bridge by an act of the General Court of Massachusetts, he was chosen collector of the toll.

August 18, 1750, Dea. John Bailey, "in consideration of divers good causes," gave to his "well beloved son, John Bailey, of Falmouth," who was his eldest son, "a gore of land adjoining on the north west end of fifty acres that I have given my sun John by will." Of this gift "by will" there is no public record, but the northerly line of the Elisha Higgins estate forms the northerly boundary line of the fifty-acre gift, which extended southerly as far as the property of Mr. Sumner Libby, and from the county road on the

west to Grant Street on the east, through which Spring Street was run in 1749, all in what is now Deering. The dwelling now standing on Spring Street, opposite the head of High Street, and occupied so many years by the late John Newman, deceased, every record points to as the home-place of John, the eldest son of Deacon John Bailey, born in Newbury, Massachusetts, October 30, 1722, married Jane Brady, January 3, 1749, died, according to Parson Smith's journal, March, 1776. They were the parents of twelve or thirteen children. Jane Bailey, his widow, sold in 1785 to Capt. Jesse Partridge, who married Jane's youngest daughter named Lydia, (Partridge built and died in the so-called Moses Quinby house at Stroudwater, and his memorial gravestone may be seen in the old cemetery), the fifty acres with buildings, Partridge sold to Rev. Thomas Brown, thirty acres, and the heirs of Capt. Jesse sold the remainder with buildings to Isaac Adams, Adams sold to Elisha Higgins, nine acres, with buildings, Elisha Higgins, jr. in 1834, sold to John Newman.

When the Stroudwater parish was organized in 1764, Deacon Bailey became the clerk thereof and held the position till his death. He lived in a one-story house, to which a story was added by his son Benjamin, and is now standing on the northerly side of Congress Street, between Libby's Corner and Bradley's Corner, Deering, and occupied by Miss Helen M. Bailey, the descent being from Deacon John, to son Benjamin, grandson Jeremiah, great-grandson Capt. Francis H., died September 26, 1893, now his only sister, Miss Helen M. Bailey.

I have alluded to a thirty-acre grant of land made to Moses Pearson in 1738, at Saccarappa. In 1771, Jane Bailey, widow of and administratrix on the estate of Deacon John, deceased, made claim to it, and a writ of ejectment was issued. From the records in Portland it appears she was successful, but an appeal was taken and the case transferred to Boston courts. By the Portland record it appears Deacon Bailey made a will, February 20, 1770, and died, August 26, 1770, in possession of his Saccarappa mill property, which he ordered divided after his decease among his heirs. A part of the lot then in dispute, Judge Fitch, of Portland, sold Capt. Isaac F. Quinby, of Saccarappa.

In the will of Benjamin Bailey, made September 18, 1812, appears a clause that reads as follows: "Reserving, however, one quarter of an acre for a public burying-ground, which quarter of an acre shall be and adjoin on the place where some bodies have been already buried." (Case of Cobb et. al. vs. Bailey. 1819. Supreme Judicial Court Records. Cumberland County.)

This has reference to the small burying-place, located on the southerly side of Mitchell's Hill, Deering, where it is conjectured that the earthly remains of Deacon John Bailey lie interred. Benjamin, his son, was a bricklayer, and built the tomb upon the lot.

In Volume DXCVIII, page 370, Cumberland County Registry of Deeds, 1883, may be found further mention of the lot here noticed.

The facts here presented are the result of painstaking research. I have found pleasure in exhuming record after record of events, and now I trust others

will be pleased to read what I have written when printed. Mr. Ray has done much to preserve records of early events of the now flourishing village of Saccarappa, located within the city limits of Westbrook, and I feel assured he will cheerfully accept my humble contribution to his labors.

CAPT. JOHNSON MOULTON'S COMPANY.

THE FIRST TO LEAVE THE DISTRICT OF MAINE IN
THE REVOLUTION.

BY NATHAN GOOLD.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, Jan. 26, 1899.

The clash of arms at Lexington,
Awoke the martial fires
That slumbered in the sturdy hearts
Of our New England sires.

MAINE, having been a part of Massachusetts during the period of the Revolutionary War, has had her history, in those trying times, overshadowed by that of the mother commonwealth. In justice to our forefathers our state's history should be preserved independently for their descendants, that they may know the services of their ancestors in the struggle for our independence.

Those who early took decisive action are of especial interest in the history of those critical hours, and will always be the pride of the towns where they lived.

They were the heroes of the hour and deserve to have their names revered by the generations that will come after them.

The old town of York, without doubt, has the honor of having sent the first company of soldiers out of our state to the relief of their suffering countrymen. The Hon. David Sewall, of that town, stated in 1794, which was repeated by Williamson, in his history of Maine, that the news of the battle of Lexington was received at York at nine o'clock in the evening of April 20, 1775, and that although no minute men had been formed in that town, a company of over sixty men were enlisted, fixed out with guns, ammunition and haversacks, with provisions for some days, and actually marched the next day, the twenty-first, and had crossed over the Piscataqua River into New Hampshire before night. They were soon sent back because their services were not then needed.

The night of the 20th of April was a stirring one in the coast towns of York and Cumberland counties. In the early evening the post rider entered old Kittery alarming the people as he passed along. It was the story that the Americans had been shot down at Lexington the day before.

You know the rest. In the books you have read,
How the British Regulars fired and fled —
How the farmers gave them ball for ball,
From behind each fence and farmyard wall,
Chasing the redcoats down the lane,
Then crossing the fields to emerge again
Under the trees at the turn of the road,
And only pausing to fire and load.

It was not fear that aroused the people of Maine as the news was carried from town to town, but it was their intense indignation that England would not recognize their just rights, that she had struck the first blow and had spilled the blood of their countrymen to enforce her unfair laws. The watchfires of liberty were lighted on many a hearthstone that night, in old Maine, as the rider was heard, above the clattering of his horse's hoofs, shouting "To arms! To arms! Avenge the lives of your brothers who have fallen at Lexington!" The ride of that courier from Kittery Point to Falmouth Neck, where he arrived before the dawn of day of the next morning, was as historic to Maine as that of Paul Revere, made famous by our Longfellow, was to Massachusetts. It fired our ancestors to action and those watchfires burned brightly until the glorious peace of 1783.

Many towns, besides York, sent forward companies of earnest patriots, ready for any service, but not living near the border of the state did not get into New Hampshire before they were turned back. They are all entitled to full praise for their spirit and patriotism, but Capt. Moulton's company must be given the honor of being the first to go beyond the boundaries of our state.

Old York was a patriotic town. As early as December 28, 1772, the inhabitants, assembled in town meeting, protested against any infringements on their rights by England, and, in January, 1774, they entered another protest. On the twenty-fourth of October, of that year, those patriots contributed to the poor of

Boston 106 bushels of potatoes, 57 sheep, 4 quintals of fish, 23 cords of wood, and £1 4s. in money. On June 5, 1776, at a town meeting, they voted that should the Continental Congress declare the colonies free and independent, they would pledge their lives and fortunes to the maintenance of that declaration. Such was the spirit of the people who went themselves, and sent their sons, at the first call heard from Lexington.

The names of those gallant men of old York have been preserved for us, and although, at this time, they served but four days before they were sent back, they are entitled to our everlasting gratitude for their spirit and resolution. Most of these men enlisted soon after their return in Col. James Scamman's 30th Regiment of Foot, and served at Cambridge in Gen. Washington's army at the siege of Boston.

The original pay-roll of Capt. Johnson Moulton's company, after nearly one hundred and twenty-four years, is in a good state of preservation, and from which the following was taken.

Pay Roll of a Company Raised by the Town of York and under the Command of Capt. Johnson Moulton Esq., April 21, 1775, as Minute Men in the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

Johnson Moulton,	Capt,
Samuel Darby,	1st Lieut.
James Donnell,	2nd "
John Trevett,	Serg't.
Joshua Trafton,	"
Josiah Parsons,	"
Edward Low,	"
Joseph Parsons,	Drummer.
Benjamin Leigh,	Fifer.

RANK AND FILE.

Amos Main	Thomas Haynes
William Grow, Jr.	Richard Dean
Josiah Moore	Henry Sayward
Ebenezer Moulton	Jotham Harris
Eliakim Hilton	Benjamin Cole
Thomas Tolpy	Jotham Donnell
Storer Sewall	John Young Junr.
Elisha Horn	Arthur Bridges
David Preble	Daniel Grant
Joseph Stanley	John Nowell Junr.
Theodore Sayward	Elisha Boyce
Abraham Sawyer	Robert Bredeen
Amaziah Goodwin	Benja. Rogers
Daniel Raynes	Ebenezer McIntyer Junr.
Joshua Grant	Joseph Garey
Joshua McLucas	Samuel Welch
Jonathan Farnham	William Linscott
Roger Plaisted	Arthur Bragdon
Shubual Nasson	Jonathan Welch
Joseph Harris	John Kingsbury, Junr.
Joseph Simpson	David Davis
James Dempsey	Samuel Garey
Norton Phillips	Thomas Welch
David Grant	Reuben Freeman
Daniel Lunt	Abram Moore
Joshua Bridges	Jotham Harris
Spencer Perkins	Cesar (Negro)
	Johnson Moulton, Capt.

Total 63 men.

The date of enlistment of the entire company is given as April 21, 1775, all were from the town of York, and each man was allowed four days' service.

The original pay-roll is in the Massachusetts Archives, in Vol. XIII, page 10.

Capt. Johnson Moulton was prominent in York and by trade was a joiner. He had been a captain in the French and Indian war, and had a brother Thomas and a sister Deborah, and they were children of Ebenezer

Moulton, of York, who had land granted him by that town and had died before July 5, 1768. Capt. Moulton's first wife died August 4, 1782, her name and age, to me, unknown. He entered his intention of marriage to Mary Bragdon, October 11, 1783, whom he married, and she outlived him, dying December 23, 1794. His death occurred June 13, 1793. He left children, Johnson, jr., Elizabeth Woodbridge, and Mary. His homestead he bought of James Sayward in 1763.

Johnson Moulton made a will October 11, 1791, and said "being weak in body and not knowing how few days remains to me in this world" etc, and speaks of his "beloved wife Mary." The will was probated June 27, 1793, and the inventory of his estate was dated July 15, 1793, and amounted to £580-0-1, with a list of notes amounting to over £120. John Frost, of Kittery, was his executor, and for his and his horse's services he charged but six shillings per day. Among the articles that appear in the inventory were "gun and bayonet 12 shillings, 1 pair pistols 6 shillings, 1 pair spurs 3 shillings, 1 pair old ditto 1 shilling, hanger (sword) 3 pounds, and an espontoon (a kind of halberd or pike used in the British army) 4 shillings."

Capt. Moulton, after his return from the Lexington alarm, enlisted May 2, 1775, as lieutenant-colonel in Col. James Scammon's regiment, although, he had been recommended by the militia officers of his county for the colonelcy. His commission was dated May 29, 1775, and he served with that regiment at Cambridge that year. He served in the same capacity in

Col. William Prescott's (he of Bunker Hill fame) 7th Continental regiment during the year 1776, serving through the siege of Boston, and then joined Gen. John Nixon's brigade in Gen. Nathaniel Greene's division, and took part in the Long Island campaign. After the war he was Sheriff of York county and served several years. In 1784 he was paid for keeping four British prisoners.

Capt. Moulton is now forgotten in the town where he lived and died. His name was barely mentioned in the vital records of York, and but for the deeds of his land, and the probate records, we might have known little of him.

First Lieut. Samuel Darby, the name became Derby, after his service in this company, raised one for Col. Scamman's regiment, enlisting May 2, 1775, serving through that year. He commanded a company in Col. William Prescott's regiment in 1776, and joined Col. John Bailey's 2d Massachusetts regiment January 1, 1777. He was commissioned major in Lieut. Col. John Brooks' 7th Massachusetts regiment November 1, 1778, and afterwards served in Col. Michael Jackson's 8th Massachusetts regiment. He commanded a York County company at Valley Forge through the memorable winter of 1777-78, and saw much hard service. He died intestate, and Reuben Derby was appointed the administrator of his estate July 7, 1807, which was probably soon after his death. His wife's name was Mary.

Second Lieut. James Donnell entered Col. Scamman's regiment, with Capt. Darby, as his first lieutenant,

and January 1, 1776, joined Col. Edmund Phinney's 18th Continental regiment, with the same rank, in Capt. Tobias Fernald's company, and was promoted to captain November 13, 1776. He enlisted January 1, 1777, as captain in Col Samuel Brewer's 12th Massachusetts regiment and resigned from the service July 5, 1779, after over four year's service.

James Donnell served at the siege of Boston, and marched to Fort Ticonderoga in August, 1776. His company was on the fleet at Lake George in June, 1777, and was in the retreat from Ticonderoga July 7, 1777, finally arriving at Saratoga August 1. They took part in the battle of Stillwater, then at Saratoga, October 7, and witnessed Burgoyne's surrender ten days later.

Capt. Donnell's company joined Washington's army near Philadelphia and spent the winter at Valley Forge, where James Dempsey, who was a soldier in this company, broke his arm felling a tree. On June 28, 1777, they fought at Monmouth and crossed the Hudson River at King's Ferry, July 14. In August the regiment marched to Danbury, Connecticut, to guard the stores there, where they remained several weeks. In the latter part of November, under Gen. Putnam, they marched back to the Hudson River, at West Point, but the regiment was at Peekskill when Capt. Donnell resigned. His service covers the whole period of the activity of the northern army in the war, and his regiment was always to the front in every emergency.

The old town of York has much interesting history, but none shines out more brilliantly than the deeds of

her gallant sons during the war of the Revolution. Their names should be blazoned on the history of our state, that their heroic sacrifices may never be forgotten.

They felt the justice of their cause ;
And when the tempest broke,
Though tyrants made the wrongful laws,
God made their hearts of oak.
No weight of years their feet could stay,
Nor tender age restrain,
When foreign musketry blazed forth
O'er Concord's hallowed plain.

EXTRACTS FROM THE OLD RECORDS OF WINDHAM.

BY SAMUEL T. DOLE.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, October 27, 1898.

WINDHAM was incorporated the sixteenth town in the District of Maine, June 12, 1762. From its settlement in 1737, to its incorporation, it had been known as New Marblehead, and all meetings having reference to its business, temporal and spiritual, had been held in old Marblehead, according to a vote of the proprietors. Being a frontier town and exposed to danger from Indian attacks, its growth was extremely slow, and several times the settlers seemed ready to abandon their grants and return to their

former homes. A few, however, made of sterner material, still determined to remain, hoping for better times. During this period they had suffered much, and made many sacrifices; had been compelled to build a fort, in which they dwelt for many weary years; had seen their farms laid waste by the savage foes, and had wept together over the beloved form of their first minister, the sainted Wight, who had been their guide and counselor for ten years, and whose faithful ministrations had relieved the monotony of their long imprisonment in the old Block House.

One of their most active and influential men had been killed and another cruelly wounded in a battle with the Indians, yet the remaining few had never faltered in their devotion to the homes they had reared in the wilderness. They were few in numbers but of sterling qualities, men of sublime faith and pure lives, of whom their descendants have a right to be proud.

At the time of incorporation the township contained thirty-nine heads of families, and fortunately for us, the second minister, Rev. Mr. Smith, records their names in the church book. They were as follows: Caleb Graffam, John Mayberry, Eleazer Chase, Nathaniel Evins, Robert Mugford, Thomas Bolton, William Bolton, Hugh Crague, John Stevens, William Elder, Isaac Elder, Zerubbabel Hunnewell, Abraham Anderson, Hate Evil Hall, Stephen Manchester, John Farrow, William Mayberry, Richard Mayberry, Stephen Lowell, Simon Noyes, Samuel Webb, Thomas Trott, Curtis Chute, Micah Walker, Joseph Starling, James Bayley, Gershom Winship, Robert Miller,

William Knight, Thomas Mayberry, Thomas Chute, William Campbell, John Bodge, Ephraim Winship, William Maxfield, Eli Webb, John Manchester, William Knight Jun., and William Stinchfield.

Immediately after the act of incorporation had passed, these few petitioned Stephen Longfellow, one of His Majesty's justices, for a warrant to call a town meeting. The request was granted, and the following is a copy of that old-time document which marks the point of time when Windham became a distinct municipality:—

[SEAL] Pursuant to warrant directed to Mr. Thomas Chute, Gentleman, Greeting, You are hereby Requested in his Majesties name to notify and warn the Inhabitants duly qualified to Vote in Town affairs to convene at the Province Garrison House, in Windham, on Monday the fifth day of July next at 10 o'clock in the fore noon, to choose proper officers as the Law directs.

Stephen Longfellow, *Justice Peace.*

No date appears to the above save the year, 1762. The following is the record of the meeting held by virtue of the warrant:—

July 5, 1762. The Freeholders and other Inhabitants being duly Notified as the Law directs and in concurrence with the Province orders, voted, viz. :

- 1st Mr. Abraham Anderson, present, Moderator for s^d meeting.
- 2^d Voted Thomas Chute, being present, Clerk.
- 3^d Voted Caleb Graffam, Lieut. Thomas Mayberry and Mr. John Farrow, select men for said town this present year.
- 4th Voted Abraham Anderson, Town Treasurer for this present year.
- 5th Voted William Elder, be Constable this year ensuing.
- 6th Voted that Simon Noyes be sealer of waits and measures.

7th Voted that Mr. Caleb Graffam and Joseph Starling shall be wordens and Tythingmen this present year.

8th Voted that John Bodge and John Stevens shall be fence viewers this present yr.

9th Voted that Stephen Manchester and Hugh Crague be field drivers this present year.

10th Voted that Thomas Trott will be a Hog Reef this present year.

11th Voted Caleb Graffam shall be a Surveyor of Lumber this year Ensuing.

12th Voted that Curtice Chute and John Stevens will be surveyors of highways this present year.

Thom^s Chute, *Town Clerk.*

From the above record which is copied verbatim from the old book, it is presumable that the thirty-nine legal voters of the town were present at this first meeting, and we find that fourteen were chosen to office, leaving but twenty-five to represent the rank and file. At their next meeting, held March 28, 1763, "It was voted that Rev. Mr. Smith may fence across the Rhoad leading to presumpscut river, to make a pasture. Voted that Mr. Curtice Chute, be field driver and hog reave. Voted that William Bolton be field driver. Voted that thirty-five pounds Lawful money be raised for Mr. Smith's salary and other town charges." From this time until late in the present century, the offices of hog reave and fence viewer were filled annually; tradition says by the men who had recently entered the married state. To these offices were added, after a time, that of tythingman. At a meeting held October 7, 1765, "Voted that a school be kept in said Town of Windham till next annual meeting, and that twenty-six pounds be allowed to

pay a school master till March meeting next." This is the first record of money raised for school purposes to be found on either town or plantation records, although doubtless a school had been in operation before the incorporation. March 26, 1766, it was voted among other things "that the swine go at large this year." We may presume that this was a decided departure from the old order of things, caused perhaps from an idea that the officers heretofore elected to this important station had been dilatory, or neglectful, and so had failed to earn their salaries. However, that the duties attached to these offices were onerous is confirmed by the fact that three men, viz., "Mr. Curtice Chute, Mr. John Mayberry, and Mr. Thomas Manchester were chosen as hog reaves this year." Just what the duties of a hog reave consisted in I have never been able to ascertain, but somehow these quadrupeds entered largely into the economy of the good old days.

"Voted that Mr. Thomas Mayberry's account for Mr. Smith's ordination Be fifteen pounds old tenor. Voted the Exceptance of the Committees Return of their settling Mr. Abraham Anderson's account for Mr. Smith's ordination, being eighteen pounds old tenor. Voted the Committe's settling Capt. Graffam's account which is eight pounds, thirteen shillings, be allowed in old tenor. Voted Mr. John Farrow's account be allowed for ordination charges, eighteen pounds old tenor." Now if Mr. Mayberry received his pay, then the cost of settling their second minister was fifty-nine pounds, thirteen shillings old tenor.

March 26, 1767, at a meeting held in the Block House, two new offices were created, viz., surveyors of lumber and pound keeper, and William Knights, Jun., Isaac Elder and Hate Evil Hall were chosen as surveyors, while the unruly neat cattle were looked after by Thomas Trott. On June 18, 1767, a special meeting was called when it was "Voted that Peter Cobb be a select man in the room of Curtice Chute, who was killed by lightning on June the fourth, at Falmouth. Abraham Anderson, Town Clerk." Mr. Chute was the only son of Capt. Thomas Chute, our reputed first settler, and his sudden death was a misfortune long remembered. He was a man of good abilities, and was highly respected by all who knew him. March 28, 1771, at a legal meeting held on this date, "Voted that John Stevens and Nathaniel Evans be Enformers of Dear and Moose this Present year." This was a new office created at the above meeting, and for several years after men were chosen annually for the above named purpose, whatever it was. Another new departure from the established order of things was adopted at this meeting. "Whereas the swine had heretofore run at large without let or hinderance, It was Voted that the swine go at large yoked and ringed as the Law directs this present year."

Up to this time the affairs of the town had gone on in a peaceable manner, but now a disturbing element appears to have gained a foothold in the quiet municipality. This was nothing less than a Quaker invasion. Several families of these people, a few years previous, had purchased land here and became permanent

settlers, and according to their religious creed stoutly refused to pay the ministerial tax. Their action created a large amount of ill will, and caused our fathers no end of perplexity; finally, after the matter had been thoroughly investigated, at the annual meeting held March 28, 1771, the town's ultimatum was delivered in the following language: "Voted that the people called Quaker and Anabaptists shall *not* be Exempt from Paying Minister's Rates Except they bring Certificates as the Law directs." This peremptory action seems to have produced the desired effect, as the following persons exhibited certificates of membership in the ostracized church, viz., Benjamin Winslow and sons, Stephen Morrell, Daniel Hall, Isaac Allen, Jun., William Hall, Jedediah Hall, Andrew Hall, Jonathan Hanson, Elijah Hanson, Nathaniel Hawkes, Peltiah Allen, Ebenezer Hawkes, Amos Hawkes, Chase Stevens and Daniel Cook, and were excused from paying the tax.

March 31, 1774. This year not contented with the existing law in regard to swine, it was "Voted that the swine go at large being *well* yoaked and ringed this present year." And we find that the exact words of this vote were used for several years after, or until 1785, when they added "as the Law directs," which formula they continued so long as any votes were passed relating to the matter.

1775. This year in expectation of the war for national independence, our fathers did not intend to be caught napping, so at a meeting held March thirtieth of that year the following votes were passed:—

Voted that Twenty seven Pounds be Raised as Soon as Possible to Provide a Town Stock of ammunition for this Town.

Voted to allow interest to any man that will let the Town have the money to Purchase a Town stock of ammunition.

Voted to choose a man to fix up the great gun and Swivels.

Voted that Capt. Caleb Graffam be the man to fix up the Great Gun and Swivels as soon as Possible.

The great gun was an iron nine pounder, which, with two smaller pieces, had been purchased by the proprietors for the settlers during the Indian wars; unfortunately these relics of antiquity have been disposed of and destroyed.

January 22, 1777, the following record appears on the town book:—

This may certify that I, Margaret Mayberry, Hath received twenty pounds of my negro man named Lonnon, it being the sum of his appraisal of Mr. Thomas Mayberry's Estate, and I hereby certify the The above named Lonnon is free and his own man, as witness my hand,

Margaret Mayberry, Administratrix.

Witnesses, Richard Dole, Joseph Weeks.

Richard Dole, *Town Clerk.*

The colored man above named was Lonnon Rhode, a slave to William Mayberry, the second settler in Windham, who at his death gave him to his son Thomas. Lonnon, after he purchased his freedom, enlisted in the Continental army and died at Valley Forge in the fall of 1777, leaving a widow, Chloe, and four children.

During the war for independence numerous town meetings were held, and every call made by the Continental Congress, whether for men or money, was

promptly honored by the people of this town, and we nowhere find that the least opposition was raised to any measure tending to strengthen the men battling for liberty, and the descendants of those men have a right to be proud of the loyalty and devotion to a just cause.

At a meeting held in the Block House, April 14, 1778, "Voted That Richard Mayberry, Blacksmith, be turned over to the Town of Salem, provided that they keep him and his family from being Chargable to this Town, for time to come and time past." This vote has caused considerable speculation among the members of the family in recent times, and some have thought it must mean Richard, son of William the emigrant settler, but the fact that he was then in command of a company in the service renders the supposition untenable. Most probably the man here mentioned was a brother of the first William, who had learned what appears to have been the family trade, and was doubtless employed by the authorities of Salem in public work on vessels or fortifications during the war.

December 9, 1781, "Voted that there be forty shillings in Silver money paid out of the Town Treasury to any person, per head for killing wolves," and the next year the same sum was voted for a like purpose. "May 19, 1783, Voted to give the powder that was spent in the day of Rejoicing for Peace." I presume our fathers meant by this not to make any charge for the gunpowder burned on that eventful day, and had it not been for a vote passed at the same meeting we

might have been left to infer that they were generous in the extreme, but in the same breath they "Voted to send Mr. Thomas Barker, Representative, the Present year, on the Conditions that he will Endeavor to do all the service that lays in his Power to serve the Town and that he *will not* ask the Town any wages, Except the Town please to allow him something for his services, and that he will give his obligation to the select men of the Town." As Mr. Barker's name does not appear among those who represented Windham in the "Great and General Court," it is to be presumed he felt that under the existing circumstances his talents were not duly appreciated. March 22, 1784, "Voted two pounds for a wolf's head this year. Voted one pound for a wild cat's head this year." In 1786, the same amount was voted, but I do not find that any claim was ever presented for the destruction of the animals.

March 6, 1795, "Voted to set Hannah Starbird up at Vandue to the lowest bidder, per month, till the Town can find out some other Town she Properly belongs to, and that the above written vote be allowed," also "voted that John Robertson be allowed six shillings per month for keeping Hannah Starbird for the future." This individual was doubtless a pauper whose legal status was not clearly defined, but who evidently gave the tax payers of Windham considerable annoyance, as the next year it was "Voted that the Select Men make Enquires about Hannah Starbird and make report at the adjournment of this meeting." It is evident that this committee made some kind of report,

as at the adjournment it was "Voted to allow Nathaniel Mugford two dollars for keeping Hannah Starbird." April 2, 1798, the following record appears:— "Mr. Thomas Crague, bid off Hannah Starbird for three shillings per week and is to find said Hannah sufficient Victuals, and to keep her Clothes as good as they now are as long as she Tarrys with him." April 1, 1799, "Voted not to allow William Mayberry, Jun.'s Account for keeping Hannah Starbird." Who she was, or what became of her I have in vain tried to ascertain, but with the above vote she disappears from public view.

April 5, 1802, "Voted not to let the hogs run at large this year." April 4, 1808, "Voted five hundred dollars for schools this year. Voted Col. Thomas Chute, Abraham Anderson and Ezra Brown be a Committee to tak kear of the school money this year." April 5, 1814, "Voted to Build a Town House for to do the Town's business in. Voted to let the hogs run at large being yoaked and ringed according to law." April 7, 1817, "Voted that Nathan Goold Esqr. William Brown and Timothy Hanson be Overseers of the poor. Voted that the Poor be put up to vandue and to be struck off to the Lowest Bidder." At the adjournment of this meeting, May 5, 1817, "Voted that Luce, a negro girl be put up at vandue to be struck off to the lowest bidder," and was struck off to Doctor James Merrill, he being the lowest bidder, for thirty-six dollars. "Voted that Abigail Trickey, a white woman, be put up to vandue to be struck off to the lowest bidder," and was struck off to Jonathan Hanson for sixty-one

dollars, he being the lowest bidder. "Voted Thomas Barker and Family be put up to vandue to be struck off to the lowest bidder, and was struck off to Timothy Hanson, for one hundred and fifty dollars, he being the lowest bidder." May 4, 1818, "Voted that the Selectmen purchase or hire a piece of land for William Young and family. Voted that Thomas Barker his wife and five children be put up to vandue and was struck off to Timothy Hanson for one hundred and sixty-nine dollars, he being the lowest bidder. Voted not to accept any part of the land of Nod road."

November 2, 1818, there appears to have been a special meeting called, and the following is a true copy of the proceedings:—

Voted that the Overseers of the Poor build John Mugford a house on the land said Mugford now lives on. Voted the Selectmen repair John Chase's house and chimney. Voted to dissolve this meeting.

John Gallison, *Town Clerk.*

April 5, 1819, "Voted that the Select men disposes of Thomas Barker and his family. Voted Luce a Negro woman be put up to vandue and was struck off to Robert Estes for thirty-eight dollars. Voted that Abigail Trickey be put up to vandue, and was struck off to Thomas Millins for ninety dollars. Voted that the Selectmen put the rest of the poor to the best advantage for the town." "April 10, 1820, Voted that Charles Johnson, Josiah Chute and Jonathan Andrew be Tything men. Voted William Mugford, Thomas Hall, Moses Little, John white and George Winslow, be field drivers and Hog Reaves. Voted to put Black

Luce up to vandue and she was struck off to John Mayberry for thirty-eight dollars, he being the lowest bidder." She was a daughter of Lonnon Rhode and his wife Chloe, of whom I have previously given a brief account. After the town purchased a farm as a place to care for their unfortunate poor, Lucy was carried there and died about 1839.

At the above meeting it was "voted to refer Thomas Barker to a committee," but what action was taken in the premises I know not, as I find no further reference to him on the town book. It is said that Abigail Trickey died before this meeting was assembled and nothing further is known of her. It was also "voted that Nathan Goold, Esqr., be a Committee to send for the Proprietors' Book of Records." Mr. Goold attended to the matter at once, and this same old book in its quaint parchment covers, and valuable records, has been deposited for safe keeping in the vaults of the Maine Historical Society.

AT THE MOUTH OF THE KENNEBEC DURING THE REVOLUTION.

DEPOSITION OF WM. WYMAN, MARCH, 1850.

I, William Wyman of Phippsburg, County of Lincoln, State of Maine, of the age of Eighty-Eight years, do testify on oath and say that I have always resided in what is now Phippsburg, once Georgetown. I was well acquainted with William Sprague. That I lived

within one mile of his residence, when I lived with father : that said Wm. Sprague always had his residence in Small Point — so called in said Phipsburg, until his death which was some twenty years ago or thereabouts. I knew that he was elected a Lieutenant somewhere about the time that the Colonies were declared independent by the Continental Congress : That I belonged to his company ; that in the spring & summer of the year of 1777 we were stationed at Hunnewell's Point in said Phipsburg with orders to watch the enemies vessels, called shaving mills and other plundering crafts which infested the Kennebec River and the harbors and bays around on both sides of Cape Small Point in said Phipsburg. Hunnewell's Point is situated at the mouth of the Kennebec River. Lieut. Sprague, commanded us the while we were on said duties as Capt. James McCobb who was our captain was seldom present. We had our regular hours of drill and exercise and drilled day after day on the plat of ground generally where the Fort now stands. We were stationed here that season from the time the river was clear of ice in the spring till it closed in or near December in said year. Our rations were brought to us by our friends (for we had to furnish our own rations) some three or four miles from our homes in Small Point. In the winter we were allowed by Lieut. Sprague to go to our homes by turns, but all to be ready at an hour's warning from Lieut. Sprague to resume our duties. Thus passed the spring and summer and fall of the year in which Gen. Burgoyne was taken and the winter following.

In the spring of the year 1778 we resumed our duties at the same places with the same rations as the year before, under Lieut. Sprague. This year we drove out of the river quite a large schooner of nearly 100 tons which was piloted by one Carleton a tory from what is called Woolwich in this County. Carleton was shot after getting clear of the river in passing Small Point by one of our men — the ball putting out both of his eyes.¹

The winter following was passed similar to the preceding of 1777, and the spring of 1779 brought us again on our old station. In the fall of this year we had the good fortune to protect and save a

¹ The aged man's memory mistakes the time of John Carleton's death, which did not occur till some three or more years later.

schooner loaded with supplies of provisions and clothing for the men on the Expedition to the Penobscot river or Bagaduce as it was called. Said schooner was chased by a British privateer and took shelter above Hunnewell's Point in the Kennebec river under Cock's Head. Lieut. Sprague commanded the detachment which was composed of men belonging to Capt. Jas. McCobb's Company, Col. Saml. McCobb's Regiment, 1780, '81 & 82 to watch at Hunnewell's Point and the Horse Shoe Beach and was on duty about the mouth of the river and Small Point day after day to my certain personal knowledge as I myself was one of his command from 1776 till 1780. We had a lookout on Cock's Head and Morse's Mountain, so called, where we could see for leagues around seaward.

Lieut. Sprague was after the war elected captain. I was well acquainted with Mrs. Merriam Sprague, wife of Lieut. Sprague, having been at their house a great many times, — some of his children being of my age or thereabouts.

Mrs. Sprague was left a widow several years and was not married after the death of Capt. Sprague as he was afterward called, and died a widow. There never was any other Merriam Blethen than Mrs. Sprague. William Sprague, a son of Lieut. Sprague done service in the Revolution as a private and drew a pension therefor, but is now deceased.

[Signed]

WM. WYMAN.

Sworn to before John F. Meserve, Just. Peace, March, 1850.

HALLOWELL RECORDS.

COMMUNICATED BY THE LATE DR. W. B. LAPHAM.

[Continued from Page 110.]

Joseph Brown, son of Nathaniel Brown and Abigail Colesworthy, his wife, was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, March 23, 1752. Married Charlotte Tinges, of Boston. Came to this town with his family, April, 1786. Their children are as follows, viz.—

Henry, born December 21, 1775.

Joseph, born Sept. 26, 1777.

Elizabeth, born May 13, 1780.

James, born Apr. 14, 1782.

Charlotte, born Aug. 23, 1784.

Nathaniel, born Oct. 10, 1786.

Nancy, born Dec. 28, 1788.

Mary, born July 7, 1791.

Lovina, born June 1, 1793.

William, born Dec. 27, 1795.

Philena, born Mar. 31, 1799.

Sylvester Roulstone was born in Canaan, State of Connecticut. Married Abigail Longfellow, of this town, who was born in Newmarket, State of New Hampshire. Their issue was : —

Harriet Ann, born May 13, 1809.

Oliver Moulton, son of William Moulton and Lucy Bradbury, his wife, was born in York, Maine, June 9, 1788 ; came to this town with his mother's family, October, 1802. Married Salome, daughter of James Laplane, of Pittston. Their children are : —

Samuel, born May 15, 1818.

Andrew Goodwin was born in Berwick, county of York, January 1, 1751. Married Hannah, daughter of — Stackpole, of said Berwick. Came to this town about 1781. Their children are as follows, viz. : —

Martha, born Apr. 18, 1777.

Hannah, born Sept. 14, 1778.

James, born Feb. 22, 1780.

Polly, born Feb. 15, 1782.
John, born Jan. 25, 1784,
Joseph, born Feb. 7, 1786.
Betsey, born Oct. 20, 1787.
Aaron, born Apr. 4, 1790.

Mrs. Hannah Goodwin died, and Mr. Goodwin married Patty, daughter of — Easty, of Sharon. Their children are : —

Belinda, born Sept. 5, 1797.
Reuel, born Jan. 29, 1799.
Laurenda, born Dec. 29, 1800.
Levi, born Oct. 7, 1802.
Lucy, born Mar. 14, 1805.
George, born May 7, 1807.
Henry Martin, born Jan. 17, 1810.
Orrin Greely, born July 21, 1811.
William Harrison, born Mar. 21, 1813.

Robert Caleb Norcross, son of Philip Norcross. Married Philena, daughter of Joseph Brown, in 1818. Their children are : —

Oliver Hussey, born Apr. 14, 1819. Died Apr. 21, 1835.
George Albert, born Dec. 11, 1821.
Henry C., born May 1, 1827.

John Kimball, son of John Kimball, was born in Exeter, New Hampshire, August, 1767; came to this town 1815. Married Nancy, daughter of — Gilman, of said Exeter. Their children are : —

Betsey, born Nov., 1792.
Dolly, born Jan., 1794.
John, born June 14, 1796.
Nancy, born July 26, 1798.
David, born Aug. 3, 1800.
Thomas, born June 21, 1804.
Charles, born May 14, 1808.
Hiram, born Jan. 1, 1813.

Timothy Page, son of Ezekiel Page. Married Nancy, daughter of James Cocks. Their children are : —

Lucy, born Dec. 7, 1783. Died Jan. 23, 1867.
Nancy, born Mar. 3, 1785.
Betsey, born Nov. 17, 1787.
Timothy, born July 16, 1791. Died March 9, 1865.

John Cocks, born Oct. 28, 1793,

David, born Nov. 28, 1795.

Lydia, born Mar. 3, 1798.

Mahala, born Nov. 22, 1801.

Holman, born Apr. 1, 1804. Died Mar. 3, 1865.

Jesse Kimball, married Hannah, daughter of James Cocks.

Their children are : —

Mary, born Apr., 1799.

Olive, born May, 1802.

Robert, born Feb. 13, 1805.

Mrs. Kimball died, and Mr. Kimball married Betsey, daughter of Timothy Page. Their issue : —

George Moody, born Jan. 7, 1815.

Mr. Kimball died May 7, 1818.

Alexander McCausland, son of Andrew McCausland, was born in Hallowell, November 30, 1792. Married Sally, daughter of William Nash of Gardiner. Their children are : —

Hiram, born May 27, 1813.

Mary Ann, born Nov. 16, 1814.

Andrew, born Oct. 7, 1816.

Kezia, born Aug. 25, 1818.

George Couch, son of John Couch. Married Elizabeth, daughter of John Phinney of Augusta. Their children are : —

Hiram Bement, born Nov. 1, 1816.

Helen Rosetta, born Sept. 18, 1818.

Mira Ann, born Sept. 21, 1820.

Mrs. Elizabeth Couch died November 17, 1825, and in February, 1828, Mr. Couch married Elizabeth Wilson. Their children are : —

Mary Elizabeth, born June 4, 1828.

Lettier Jane, born Jan. 31, 1831.

Clarissa Margaret, born Oct. 31, 1832.

George Everett, born May 31, 1834. Died Nov. 15, 1848.

Mrs. Elizabeth Couch died January 21, 1851.

William Bachelder, son of — Bachelder, was born in Kingston, state of New Hampshire. Married Elizabeth, daughter of

Andrew Greely of said Kingston. Came to this town 1790. Their children are : —

Enoch, born July 16, 1785.

Nathan, born August 5, 1787.

Polly, born Aug. 26, 1791. Died May 4, 1794.

Polly,
Elizabeth, { born June 18, 1795.

William, born Apr. 15, 1798.

Elizabeth, born Mar. 26, 1800.

Joanna, born Apr. 2, 1803. Died Apr. 11, 1803.

Joanna, born Oct. 26, 1805.

Mrs. Bachelder died February 27, 1810.

David Cutler, eldest son of David Cutler of Boston, and Abigail Belknap his wife, was born April 19, 1788. Married Abigail, daughter of William Atkins, Esq., of Newburyport. Removed to this town July, 1794. Their children are : —

William, born July 9, 1769,

Abigail, born Oct. 18, 1771.

Sarah, born July 20, 1777.

Joseph, born Aug. 16, 1779.

Ann, born Dec. 12, 1781.

Samuel Gott Taylor, son of John Taylor and Annah Gott, his wife, was born in Starks, October 4, 1788. Married Huldah, daughter of Eliab Shaw of Augusta. Came to this town April, 1818. Their children are : —

John Franklin, born July 20, 1815, in Augusta.

Dolphin Davis, born June 5, 1817, in Augusta.

Sandford, born June 30, 1819.

James Harlowe, son of James Harlowe and Hannah Bagnell his wife, was born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, May 16, 1781. Married Martha, daughter of — Fitts of Bath. Came to this town with his family, January 9, 1819. Their children are : —

Almira Spears, born June 18, 1806, in Bath.

James Madison, born Nov. 25, 1809, in Bath.

Maria Antoinette, born Feb. 8, 1811, in Bath.

Benjamin Woodward, born Feb. 21, 1814, in Bath.

Harriet Terasa, born Aug. 20, 1815, in Bath.

George Whitefield, born Apr. 23, 1818, in Bath.

Martha Alice, born July 18, 1820, in Hallowell.

Simeon F., born Aug. 7, 1822.

Olivia B., born Sept. 16, 1824.

Ephraim L., born May 9, 1828.

Abisha Handy, son of Richard Handy and Mary Wing his wife, was born in Sandwich, County of Barnstable, October 22, 1777. Came to this town 1802. Married Zipporah, daughter of John Laughton of Norridgewock. Their children are : —

Samuel Merrick, born Jan. 23, 1808, in Norridgewock.

Martha Ann, born Aug. 9, 1809.

Henry Vaughan, born Mar. 15, 1813.

Sanford Kingsbury, born Jan. 3, 1816.

William Oliver, born Apr. 9, 1817.

Robert Gardiner, born Jan. 23, 1820.

Frances Elizabeth, born Oct. 17, 1822.

Mr. A. Handy died May, 1849.

Joshua Orne LeFevre, son of John and Lydia LeFevre, was born in Marblehead, county of Essex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, December 19, 1785. Came to this town July 20, 1816. Was married to Susan, daughter of Daniel and Sarah Day of this town, December 3, 1818. Their children are : —

Caroline Augusta, born May 29, 1821.

Malvina Amanda, born Sept. 18, 1822.

Mrs. LeFevre died January, 1848.

George W. Stanley, son of Peter and Cressenda Stanley of Winthrop, was born March 11, 1800. Married Mary Dearborn of said Winthrop. Came to this town in 1821. Child : —

George D., born May 11, 1822.

Isaac Leonard, brother to Artemas, was born at Raynham, County of Bristol, Massachusetts, August 14, 1790. Married Julia Washburn of said Raynham, July 5, 1819. Came to this town in 1810. Their children are : —

Frederic Washburn, born Mar. 31, 1820.

Isaac Eugene, born April 8, 1822.

Julia Maria, born July 3, 1825.

George Pollard, son of Jonathan P. Pollard and Hannah Lufkin his wife, was born in Billerica, Massachusetts, county of Middlesex, March 14, 1790. Came to this town 1815. Married Rebecca Punchard (who was born in Salem, Massachusetts, county of Essex, August 27, 1792), June 25, 1820. Their children are : —

Eliza Punchard, born Apr. 14, 1821.

Ellen Rebecca, born June 9, 1822.

Susan Eveline, born May 3, 1824.

Mrs. Rebecca Pollard died December 22, 1824, and Mr. Pollard married Hannah Adams in October, 1826. Their children are : —

Hannah Adams, born Aug. 16, 1827.

Sarah Ann, born Dec. 18, 1828.

George Adams, born Aug. 14, 1830.

Mary Caroline, born Aug. 19, 1832.

Charles Porter, born Sept. 9, 1834.

Samuel Adams, born June 4, 1836. Died Oct. 6, 1836.

Henry A., born July 24, 1839. Died Dec. 14, 1840.

Mrs. Hannah Pollard died August 10, 1846. Mr. George Pollard died January 1, 1849.

The children of James Porter and his wife (Irish) : —

William, born May 24, 1820.

Lester, born July 24, 1821.

James and John, born Nov. 12, 1823.

James Lakeman, son of Thomas Lakeman, married Lucinda Calvert (daughter of Richard Calvert and Abigail his wife, who was born in Pittston, now state of Maine, August 31, 1803) February 14, 1822. Their children are : —

Harriet Calvert, born Feb. 6, 1823.

Harriet Ann, born Sept. 28, 1824.

John Lakeman, son of Thomas Lakeman, married Abbey Calvert (daughter of Richard Calvert and Abigail his wife, who was born July 28, 1795) at St. John's, New Brunswick, November 17, 1819. Came to this town in the last part of the same year. Their children are : —

Callista Ann, born Apr. 15, 1820.

Abigail Calvert, born Jan. 2, 1822.

Charlotte Elizabeth, born Oct. 27, 1823.

John Alvan Hayward, born March 16, 1825.

Sarah Sprague, born Oct. 8, 1826.

Emily Caroline, born Jan. 17, 1834.

Eliza Ellen, born Dec. 7, 1835.

Samuel Kenne, son of Henry Kenne and Mary his wife, was born in Belgrade, county of Kennebec, January 31, 1799. Came to this town as an apprentice to John Gaubert Baker. Married Henrietta Nye, 1822, who was born April 8, 1808. Their children are : —

George Henry, born Jan. 24, 1823.

The children of Sarson Butler jr. : —

Phebe, born May 20, 1816.

Alanson Gancelo, born Dec. 30, 1817.

Mary Jane, born June 30, 1822.

Caroline Aurelia, born Aug. 30, 1824.

Ann Elizabeth, born Apr. 30, 1827.

The children of John Williams and his wife Joanna : —

Mary, born Apr. 27, 1809.

George, born July 11, 1811.

Julia Ann, born July 22, 1814.

Charles, born Feb. 2, 1817.

Seth, born Dec. 26, 1819.

Mr. John Williams died January 29, 1849.

Hiram Wells, son of Solomon Wells, married Julia Ann Cox, daughter of Gershom Cox. Child : —

Mary Samantha, born Aug. 14, 1824.

Andrew Masters, son of Dr. John Masters and Elizabeth his wife, was born in Newmarket, state of New Hampshire, May 17, 1793. Removed to this town April 14, 1815. Married Sarah P., daughter of William Livermore, October 14, 1821. Their children are : —

William Andrew, born Jan. 24, 1823.

Sarah Elizabeth, born Aug. 10, 1824.

Caroline Parker, born June 8, 1827. Died May 28, 1828.

Caroline Parker, born Nov. 13, 1829. Died 1840.

Mary Louisa, born May 25, 1836.

William Morse, jr., son of William Morse and Tryphena Whittier his wife. Married Mary G. Palmer, daughter of Moses Palmer and Hannah his wife. Their children are : —

Louisa M. P., born Sept. 10, 1823.

Mary E. } born Jan. 16, 1825.
Ann, }

Julia Louisa, born May 17, 1827.

Henry Bodwell, born Apr. 23, 1830.

Emily Melville, born May 10, 1833.

The above-named William Morse died January 14, 1837, of consumption.

William Frederic Laine, son of James Laine and Deborah Folsom his wife, was born in Pittsfield, state of New Hampshire, October 1, 1795. Came to this town October, 1816. Was married to Mary, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary Perley, December 31, 1820. Their children are : —

Henry Perley, born Oct. 23, 1821.

Mary Louisa, born Jan. 1, 1824.

George Frederic, born Feb. 21, 1826.

Richard William, born Sept. 10, 1828.

Mrs. Laine died April 28, 1844.

Timothy Dix Wiggin, son of Noah Greely Wiggin and Matilda his wife, was born in Amherst, state of New Hampshire, September 25, 1801. Came to this town July, 1820. Was married to Elizabeth, daughter of James and Mary Partridge, May 20, 1823. Their children are : —

Frances Ellen, born Mar. 11, 1824.

Joseph Partridge, born Nov. 15, 1825.

Stephen Springer, son of Job Springer of Augusta. Married Mary Hinkley, daughter of Elijah Hinkley. Their children are : —

Cyrus Lewis, born Sept. 6, 1815. Died 1849.

Hannah Lucretia, born Dec. 24, 1816.

Mary Jane, born Nov. 24, 1818.

Charlotte Phedoria, born June 6, 1820.

Frances Elizabeth, born Nov. 10, 1821.

Stephen Sumner, born July 30, 1823.

George Allen, born Dec. 18, 1825.

William Clark, born Feb. 16, 1828.

Benjamin Franklin, born Oct. 19, 1829.

Ann Augusta, born Aug 16, 1831.

Charles Henry, born July 30, 1833.

Susan Rebecca, born Dec. 24, 1834. Died Sept. 18, 1837.

Susan Rebecca, born Oct. 6, 1836.

Capt. Stephen Springer died July 27, 1847.

Elijah Couch, son of John Couch, married Mary Hinkley.

Their children are : —

Mary Jane, born July 8, 1821.

Adaline Thompson, born Jan. 5, 1826. Died Jan. 17, 1841.

William James, born Apr. 6, 1828. Died Aug. 5, 1844.

Hannah Holmes, born Jan. 17, 1831.

Catharine Ellen, born June 23, 1835.

Olive, born Feb. 17, 1842.

Otis Whittemore, married Susan, daughter of Philip Lord.

Their children are : —

Sarah Jane, born Jan. 24, 1823.

Ann Elizabeth, born Aug. 22, 1825.

Abby Amelia, born Mar. 20, 1828.

PROCEEDINGS.

MARCH 31, 1899.

A MEETING of the Society was held at the Library Hall, in Portland, and was called to order by the President at 2.30 P. M.

A paper on the Old Smith Burying Ground at South Windham was read by Mr. Samuel T. Dole.

A paper on Colonel James Scamman's York County Regiment in the Revolution was read by Mr. Nathan Goold.

Peleg Tallman, Seaman of the Revolution, Master Mariner and Member of Congress, was the title of a paper contributed by Mr. Walter H. Sturtevant, of Richmond, Maine, and read by Rev. Henry O. Thayer.

Rev. Dr. Burrage read a paper contributed by Rev. Everett S. Stackpole, of Augusta, entitled *Extracts from an Old Journal Kept by Lieut. John Stackpole*.

Adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1899.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Cleveland Lecture Room, at Brunswick, Wednesday, June 21, 1899, and was called to order at 2 P. M., the President in the chair.

The members present were:—

Messrs. Allen, Baxter, John Marshall Brown, H. H. Burbank, E. P. Burnham, H. W. Bryant, A. M. Card, H. L. Chapman, E. S. Drake, J. L. Douglas, D. W. Fellows, Charles J. Gilman, J. M. Glidden, Nathan Goold, Herbert Harris, George W. Hammond, F. H. Jordan, Geo. T. Little, J. M. Larrabee, P. C. Manning, H. K. Morrell, Geo. D. Rand, Joseph Williamson and Joseph Wood.

The report of the last Annual Meeting was read by the Recording Secretary, and was approved.

The annual report of the Librarian and Curator was read and approved, to be placed on file.

The annual report of the Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Williamson, was read by him, and it was approved, to be placed on file.

The annual report of the Treasurer, Mr. Jordan, was read by him in detail and it was accepted, to be spread upon the records.

The annual report of the Biographer, Mr. William-son, was read by him, and it was accepted, to be placed on file.

The annual report of the Standing Committee, which embraced also the doings of the Publication Committee, was read by the Recording Secretary, and it was accepted to be placed on file. The Secretary also read reports which he had received from the Secretaries of the Lincoln County, Knox County, Kennebec County and Sagadahoc County Historical Societies, and they were accepted, to be placed on file.

It was voted that the Recording Secretary communicate with the County Societies and solicit copies of the papers which had been read before these Societies for our Archives.

General John M. Brown read a communication from Rev. Dr. Burrage, chairman of the Publication Committee, setting forth some facts concerning the quarterly publication, also regarding the advisability of suspending the quarterly on the completion of the present or tenth volume, also regarding the importance of the Farnham collection of copies of original documents relating to Maine.

General Brown endorsed Dr. Burrage's communication, and upon his motion the following vote was passed:—

Voted that the publication of the Quarterly be suspended on the conclusion of the current volume, and that the Standing Committee be requested to proceed at once to make arrangements for the publication of the Farnham MSS. so called, presented to the Society for that purpose, in quarterly form, and in an edition of as many copies

as they may deem desirable, the same to be distributed to members of the Society under the rules, and sold to individuals and libraries who may subscribe for it in advance.

It was voted that the President appoint a committee to nominate a board of officers for the coming year, and he accordingly appointed General John M. Brown, John M. Glidden and Edwin S. Drake as such committee, who retired, and shortly after reported that they had agreed to nominate the same board of officers, and on motion the Secretary was authorized, no one objecting, to cast the ballot declaring the following board elected :—

President — James P. Baxter.

Vice President — Rufus K. Sewall.

Corresponding Secretary and Biographer — Joseph Williamson.

Treasurer — Fritz H. Jordan.

Recording Secretary, Librarian and Curator — H. W. Bryant.

Standing Committee — Rev. Henry S. Burrage, Portland ; Prof. Henry L. Chapman, Brunswick ; Gen. John Marshall Brown, Falmouth ; Hon. Edward P. Burnham, Saco ; Hon. Samuel C. Belcher, Farmington ; Capt. Charles E. Nash, Augusta ; Col. John M. Glidden, Newcastle.

The ballot for resident members was then distributed, and twenty-two ballots were cast for the following, who were declared elected :—

William W. Brown, Portland ; Alfred Cole, Buckfield ; George S. Hobbs, Portland ; Weston Lewis, Josiah S. Maxcy, Gardiner ; Willis B. Moulton, M. D., Portland ; Edward C. Reynolds, So. Portland ; Rev. Everett S. Stackpole, Augusta ; Albert R. Stubbs, Portland ; Robert H. Gardiner, Gardiner ; William H. Stevens, Portland.

At the request of the Standing Committee expressed by the President, the name of Hon. John H. Stiness, of

Providence, was added to the list nominated as corresponding members. The ballots were then called for, and twenty ballots were cast for the following, who were declared elected: —

Col. John P. Nicholson, Philadelphia; Victor H. Paltsits, New York; James E. Seaver, Taunton; John H. Stiness, Providence.

Col. Glidden, of Newcastle, called the attention of the meeting to the recent movement of the Pemaquid Monument Association, of a transfer of its property to the State for a reservation in perpetuity, so that the old fort at Pemaquid will be a standing monument of the events of 1690 and thereafter, and expressed the appreciation of the Lincoln County Historical Society of the action of the legislature in accepting the grant, and especially to Gen. Brown for his activity in the matter at the capitol.

General Brown made a few remarks extolling the action of the Pemaquid Monument Association and the Lincoln County Historical Society.

Mr. Gilman, of Brunswick, spoke in reference to the Great Charter of 1606, and proposed a conference of the Virginia Historical Society and the Maine Historical Society, and on his motion the matter was referred to the Standing Committee for any action they might see fit.

The matter of a regular annual due to be collected from each resident member was brought up by Mr. Burnham, of Saco, and was discussed by Messrs. Brown, Drake, Gilman, Douglas, Jordan, Chapman and Glidden. Finally, on Col. Glidden's motion, it was

Voted, that the question, being one of annual dues, be referred to the Standing Committee, whose duty it shall be to bring in an amendment to be voted upon at the next annual meeting, such amendment to name a rate of from \$3.00 to \$5.00, according as the requirements of the Society shall warrant, and an amount for Life Membership \$35.00 to \$50.00.

On motion of Mr. Charles J. Gilman, it was voted that the President, Mr. Baxter, confer with the United States Government officers as to the proper and final disposal of the granite block, with its inscription concerning the site of Fort St. George of the Popham Colony, now at Fort Popham.

The question of the Annual Field Day Excursion was brought up, and on motion of Mr. Burnham, the entire matter was left with a committee of three to be appointed by the Chair, and the following were appointed a committee to select locality and make arrangements: —

Rev. Henry S. Burrage, Prof. Henry L. Chapman, Charles E. Allen, Esq.

The President also appointed as Auditors of the Treasurer's account, Messrs. Franklin R. Barrett and Henry Deering.

Adjourned, *sine die*.

THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

Will be issued in January, April, July and October. Each number will contain an attractive and valuable amount of historical matter, Proceedings, Historical Memoranda and other miscellaneous material.

It is under the superintendence of Rev. H. S. Burrage, Rev. Henry O. Thayer and H. W. Bryant, as editing and publishing committee.

The continuation of the publication is guaranteed by the strength in membership of the Society; but as it is expected that there will be a large class of general readers who can be interested in these researches, it is considered desirable to invite the coöperation of that class in carrying forward this good work.

The terms of the quarterly are **Three Dollars** per year payable in advance, which includes postage. Remittances may be made by money order, registered letter, check, or in money at the sender's risk, payable to The Thurston Print, Portland.

Historical articles, notes, queries and answers, are solicited for publication, and should be addressed to H. W. Bryant, Secretary Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine.

We send the numbers out uncut, that they may be bound at the close of the year to correspond with other volumes issued by the Society. The price for binding will be cloth *50 cts.*, half-sheep *75 cts.*

All correspondence concerning subscriptions and payment should be addressed to

THE THURSTON PRINT,
PORTLAND, MAINE.

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COLLECTIONS



AND

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY



Antiquitatis Monumenta Colligere

OCTOBER, 1899

VOL. X

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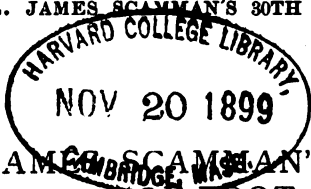
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Editing and Publishing Staff.

REV. H. S. BURRAGE,
REV. H. O. THAYER,
H. W. BRYANT.

ENTERED AT THE POST OFFICE AT PORTLAND, MAINE, AS SECOND CLASS MATTER



COL. JAMES SCAMMAN'S 30TH REGIMENT
OF FOOT, 1775.

BY NATHAN GOOLD.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 31, 1899.

COLONEL JAMES SCAMMAN'S 30th Regiment of Foot, the first to leave the District of Maine in the war of the Revolution, was from York County. It was raised in answer to a resolve passed by the Second Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, April 23, 1775, four days after the battles of Lexington and Concord, to raise thirteen thousand six hundred men "immediately," in the colony. April 26, the Congress voted that the regiments authorized should consist of ten companies of fifty-nine men, each to be commanded by a captain and two subalterns. It was a time of the most intense excitement. The rebellion against British tyranny had begun, and the enemy's army must be driven out of Boston, which was the work to be assigned for this army to do. The force was increased to thirty thousand by the other New England colonies. The minute-men, then under arms, had assembled during the Lexington alarm, most of whom soon returned to their homes to become regular soldiers in the service of the colony. The situation at Cambridge at that time is given by the following letter of Gen. Ward :—

Head Quarters, April 24, 1775.

GENTLEMEN :— My situation is such, that if I have not enlisting orders immediately I shall be left entirely alone. It is impossible

to keep men here, excepting something to be done. I therefore pray that the plan may be completed and handed to me this morning, that you, gentlemen of the Congress, issue orders for enlisting men.

I am gentlemen, yours &c

A. Ward.

To the Hon. the Delegates of the Provincial Congress.

American Archives, Volume II, page 384.

The plan was completed, and men thought best fitted for such work were given "beating orders" to raise companies all through the Massachusetts Colony. The following are copies of the "beating orders" sent out by the Committee of Safety from Cambridge:—

In Committee of Safety, Cambridge, April 24, 1775.

To Captain of in the County of greeting :

SIR:— You are hereby empowered immediately to enlist a company, to consist of 56 able-bodied and effective men, including sergeants, as soldiers in the Massachusetts service, for the protection of American liberty, and cause them to pass muster as soon as possible.

Jos. Warren, Chairman.

Samuel Freeman, Secretary, P. T.

Cambridge, April 24, 1775.

Whereas, you have this day received orders for enlisting 56 soldiers, including a sergeant, for the Massachusetts service for the protection of the liberties of America, you are hereby acquainted that the commission of a captain in said service shall be made out for you as soon as you have completed the said enlistment; and you will also be allowed to nominate 2 subalterns to serve under you, who will receive commissions accordingly, if the committee shall approve of them.

By order of the Committee of Safety

Joseph Warren, Chairman.

These two orders having been received the several captains proceeded with their enlistments, and, in some towns, more men came than were wanted. In a little over two weeks from the first enlistment, Col. Scamman's regiment was on its march toward Cambridge, as well fitted out as the times and the conditions of the people would admit, and with the necessary field and staff officers. Some of the men came from towns where there was no military organization until after the Lexington Alarm. This prompt response was the result of the intense feeling of indignation of the inhabitants at the attack on their countrymen at Lexington and Concord, on the memorable nineteenth of April. Then our government was but a skeleton, and had little organization. Independence had hardly been thought of, but our forefathers proved themselves equal to the self-imposed task that developed in the progress of events. The people were self-reliant, and rebellion against oppression was rampant in our land. It was success or death. The unselfish devotion of those Revolutionary patriots will command the admiration of the students of our country's history for all time, therefore the smallest details should be welcomed to the story of the nation.

The Committee of Safety adopted, April 21, 1775, the following form of enlistment for the army : —

I, A B, do hereby engage and enlist myself as a soldier in the Massachusetts service, from the day of my enlistment to the last day of December next, unless the service should admit of a discharge of a part or the whole sooner, which shall be at the discretion of the Committee of Safety ; and I do hereby promise to submit

myself to all the orders and regulations of the army, and faithfully to observe and obey all such orders as I shall receive from my superior officer.

At first the regiments were to be of nine companies with seventy privates each, but April 24 they were changed to ten companies with fifty-nine men each, including the three commissioned officers. In the instructions to recruiting officers in July, 1775, they were not to enlist any deserter from the British Army, negro or vagabond, or any person under eighteen years of age. They were not to enlist any person not American born, unless such person had a wife and family and was a settled resident of the country. All recruits were obliged to be provided "with good and complete arms." Afterward negroes were enlisted in the army and did gallant service, as they have later. Peter Salem, a negro, was thought to have killed Major Pitcairn at Bunker Hill.

While the York County regiment was being raised a meeting of the county militia officers was held to select who was, in their opinion, best fitted for the command of the regiment. Their recommendation was Johnson Moulton for colonel, James Scamman for lieutenant-colonel, and David Wood for major. Capt. Moulton, as he was then, went to Cambridge, and with him took the following letter of introduction to Gen. Artemas Ward, then the commander of the army.

Kittery, May 5, 1775.

SIR:—Captain Johnson Moulton, the bearer hereof, who has been a number of years in the service of this Province in the last war, and performed to general satisfaction of all parties and it ap-

pearing by the disposition of our men, who are acquainted with him in the service, that he will be the most likely to raise a regiment of good effective men, therefore do recommend him to your Honour (if you think proper) for a Colonel's commission.

And am your Honour's assured friends and humble servants

James Gowen

Benj Chadburn

Nathan Lord Jr.

N. B. There is a considerable number of good men enlisted already, with a view of said Moulton being their Colonel.

The Honorable Artemas Ward, Esquire.

American Archives, Volume II, page 515.

Hon. James Gowen was a prominent man at Kittery in his time and had served in the General Court and as one of the Governor's councilors. He had been a captain and commanded a company in Col. Jedediah Preble's regiment, in the army of Gen. Abercrombie, in the attack on Fort Ticonderoga, in 1758, when Lord Howe was killed.

It seems evident that James Scamman had already been given orders to raise the York County regiment, but from the representations made to them, the Committee of Safety at Cambridge had become convinced that the command should have been given to Johnson Moulton, Esq., therefore they sent to Col. Scamman the following letter :—

In Committee of Safety, Cambridge

May, 7, 1775.

We are informed by the Field Officers of the First and Second regiments, together with a number of gentlemen of note in the County of York, that it would be most agreeable that Captain Johnson Moulton should have the command of the Regiment to be

raised in that County. The Committee taking these matters into their most serious consideration, and the necessity of an Army being formed as soon as possible, as the salvation of the Country must depend (under God) on our union and exertions; and notwithstanding, sir, you have received orders for enlisting a Regiment, with a prospect of having the command of the same, yet we flatter ourselves that you will, when you view the importance of completing the Army, the delay that might arise in your quarter should you not consent to come under Mr. Johnson Moulton, you will cheerfully comply and rest satisfied as we conceive it is the interest of your Country you aim at, and not any emolument or honours that may respect you as an individual. We doubt not, from these considerations, you will be actuated by that zeal and ardour in the cause of your Country that shall promote its truest interest, and that we shall soon be informed that the Regiment intended to be raised in the County of York is completed to the satisfaction of officers and men.

We are &c.

To Colonel James Scamman.

American Archives Volume II, page 524.

James Scamman became the colonel of the regiment, but, in the light of subsequent events, it would probably have been better had he withdrawn in favor of Johnson Moulton. This was no doubt the beginning of the lack of harmony among the officers which existed in the regiment through its service, but there may have been other reasons which may never be known.

There were other difficulties encountered in the organization of this regiment. James Sullivan, afterwards a governor of Massachusetts, then a lawyer at Biddeford, urged the government to appoint as major Alexander Scammell of Durham, New Hampshire, then

a student in the law office of Gen. John Sullivan, his brother. That Scammell was not a resident of York County was probably the only reason of his failure to receive the appointment.

Alexander Scammell entered the army June 12, 1775, as brigade major of the New Hampshire regiments at Cambridge, and subsequently had a brilliant career, ending his life October 6, 1781, at the siege of Yorktown, when he was shot by a Hessian dragoon after he was captured. He was a most intimate friend of Gen. Peleg Wadsworth, they having been college classmates.

James Sullivan gave Scammell a letter of introduction to Dr. Joseph Warren (president of the Committee of Safety), dated May 21, 1775, in which he stated that the bearer was the gentleman whom he had recommended for major of the York County regiment.

In the same letter Sullivan said that the Cumberland County regiment (Col. Edmund Phinney's) would have but one gun to three men and that it was expected that the Province would arm them. This letter has been preserved in the Massachusetts Archives.

The following letter was written to the Committee of Safety at Cambridge from Berwick six days before Sullivan's : —

Berwick May 15, 1775.

GENTLEMEN: this day our waiting on Majr Wood on his march to Head Quarters we are informed that one Alexander Scammell is appointed major of the Regiment now Raising in the County of York. Mr. Scammell Lives in New Hampshire and has no proper-

ty in Berwick or the County of York. We being military Officers in said County of York not attending the County meeting in advising to the field Officers do approve of the Choice at said meeting that is Johnson Moulton first Colo., James Scamman Lt. Colo. Danl Wood Majr

We are Gentlem with esteem yours &c

Joseph Prime
Jona Hamilton
Joseph Pray Jr.
Mark Lord

the Committee of Safety
at Cambridge &c. &c. &c.

The original of the above letter is in the Massachusetts Archives, Volume CXLVI, page 63.

Daniel Wood of Berwick was appointed major of the regiment, which was but justice, although there is no question but what Scammell would have been a most efficient officer.

May 4, the Congress passed a resolution granting an advance payment of twenty shillings to the non-commissioned officers and privates who should enlist. Four days later they established the following oath to be administered to the Massachusetts army. Later this oath was simplified:—

I, A. B. swear I will truly and faithfully serve in the Massachusetts army, to which I belong, for the defense and security of the estates, lives and liberties of the good people of this and the sister colonies of America, in opposition to ministerial tyranny by which they are or may be oppressed, and to all other enemies and opposers whatsoever; that I will adhere to the rules and regulations of said army, observe and obey the generals and other officers set over me; and disclose and make known to said officers all traitorous conspiracies, attempts and designs whatsoever which I shall know

to be made against said army or any of the English American colonies, so help me God.

May 20, Gen. Artemas Ward was sworn and received his commission as the commander-in-chief of the army, and commissions were issued to some other officers. The organization of the Massachusetts army was entered upon at this date, although troops had been in the service since the nineteenth of April. John Thomas was the lieutenant-general.

By the order of the Committee of Safety at Cambridge the following letter was sent to the colonels of the several regiments : —

Cambridge May 10, 1775.

SIR: As we are meditating a blow against our restless enemies we therefore enjoin you as you would evidence your regard to your country, forthwith, upon the receipt of this order, to repair to the town of Cambridge, with the men enlisted under your command.

We are &c.

This was the order to march, and within a few days Col. Scamman's regiment was on its way to join the army. They were at least four days on the road and were in camp the twenty-third, with all but three companies full to the limit, the regiment then having five hundred and forty-seven men, as is shown by the following return :—

RETURN OF COLONEL SCAMMAN'S REGIMENT, CAMBRIDGE,
MAY 23, 1775.

This return gives one each, colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, adjutant and quartermaster present. The company returns were as follows :—

	<i>Capt.</i>	<i>Lieut.</i>	<i>Ensign.</i>	<i>Rank and File</i>
Capt. Samuel Darby's Co.,	1	1	1	56
" Tobias Fernald's Co.,	1	1	1	56
" Ebenezer Sullivan's Co.,	1	1	1	56
" Samuel Leighton's Co.,	1	1	1	56
" Samuel Sawyer's Co.,	1	1	1	56
" Jeremiah Hill's Co.,	1	1	1	56
" Joshua Bragdon's Co.,	1	1	1	38
" Philip Hubbard's Co.,	1	1	1	37
" Jonathan Nowell's Co.,	1	1	1	45
" Jesse Dormand's Co.,	1	1	1	56
Total,	10	10	10	512
		Line Officers,		30
		Staff "		5
		Total,		547

Original return in Massachusetts Archives, Volume CXLVI, page 163.

May 24, "Col. Scamman having satisfied the Committee [of Safety] that his regiment was nearly full, a certificate was given him thereof, and it was recommended to the Provincial Congress that his regiment be commissioned accordingly." The following is the record for the commissioning of Col. Scamman's regiment by the Provincial Congress.

Watertown, June 2, 1775.

Ordered that commissions be given to the officers of Col. Scamman's regiment (except those captains who have already received their commissions) agreeable to the above list.

Samuel Freeman

Secretary.

Some commissions issued were dated June 2, 1775.

The following is a copy of a commission given to one of the captains of Col. Scamman's regiment:—

In Congress. — The delegates of the United Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, on the Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, to Samuel Leighton Esquire. We reposing especial trust and confidence in your patriotism, valor, conduct and fidelity, do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be captain of a company in the Thirtieth Regiment, commanded by Col. Scammon, in the army of the United Colonies, raised for the defense of American liberty and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof. You are therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Captain, by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command to be obedient to your orders as Captain, and you are to observe and follow such orders and directions, from time to time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United Colonies or Committee of Congress, for that purpose appointed, or Commander-in-Chief for the time being of the army of the United Colonies, or any other your superior officers, according to the rules and discipline of war, in pursuance of the trust reposed in you. This commission to continue in force until revoked by this or a future Congress.

By order of the Congress,

John Hancock,

Attest July 1st, 1775.

President.

Chas. Thomson, Secretary.

Col. Scamman's regiment had been in camp about four weeks when the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. In a return of June 9, the regiment is given as having three hundred and ninety-six men fit for duty, and was in an army that was but a motley crowd of men. Drake says:—

Imagine such an army, without artillery or effective small arms, without magazines or discipline, and unable to execute the smallest tactical maneuver should their lines be forced at any point, laying siege to a town containing ten thousand troops, the first in the world. It was, moreover, without a flag, or a commander having absolute authority until Washington came. Picture to yourself a grimy figure behind a rank of gabions, his head wrapped in an old bandanna, a short pipe between his teeth, stripped of his upper garments, his lower limbs encased in leather breeches, yarn stockings, and hob-nailed shoes, industriously plying mattock or spade, and your provincial soldier of '75 stands before you. Multiply him by ten thousand, and you have the provincial army.

The story of Bunker Hill has been ably told by Frothingham and others. The movements of Col. Scamman's regiment, during the battle, have not been clearly stated in our Maine history. They took no active part in the fighting that day, and it is not probable that any Maine organization did. Frothingham says, in his account of the battle June 17: "Col. Scamman was ordered to where the fighting was and went to Lechmere's Point (East Cambridge). Here he was ordered to march to the hill, which he understood to mean Cobble Hill (McLean Asylum), whence he sent a messenger to Gen. Putnam to enquire whether his regiment was wanted. This delay prevented it from reaching the field in season to do any good," also "James Scamman's regiment from Maine did not advance nearer the battle than Bunker Hill; and its colonel was tried for cowardice and acquitted," and "Col. Scamman with a part of his regiment reached the top of Bunker Hill, but immediately retreated." It must be kept in mind that the battle was fought on Breed's Hill, now called Bunker Hill.



Narrow Pass.
Where the Americans passed over.

Bunker Hill.
The farthest point reached by Col. Scamman's regiment in its advance.

Breed's Hill.
Where the battle of Bunker Hill was fought.

Moulton's Point

VIEW OF CHARLESTOWN IN 1775 BY TRUMBULL.

All that Frothingham says is true of this regiment, but still their movements are not satisfactorily stated. The American army had no supreme commander and but little organization at that time. There was great confusion caused by the knowledge that the British were making a forward movement. Col. Scamman supposed they were to land at Lechmere's Point, and marched his regiment there. Col. Whitcomb, acting as a general officer, ordered him, as he supposed, to Cobble Hill to observe the movements of the floating batteries, and while there the battle was at its height. Col. Scamman despatched two sergeants to Gen. Putnam to find if he was needed, and before their return hurried his regiment forward, but before they reached the top of Bunker Hill the American's were in full retreat from Breed's Hill. During the advance the British bullets fell thick and fast among them. Col. Scamman when urging on his men shouted: "Come, my Yorkshire lads, now let us show our bravery." Meeting the retreating soldiers Scamman's regiment went with them, as would be expected. The Journal of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress says Hon. John Whitcomb was elected "a general officer" February 15, 1775, and was appointed a muster master May 6, 1775, but "on account of his various

vocations could not accept," and Asa Whitcomb was elected in his place May 9. Col. John Whitcomb was elected the first major general June 13, 1775, and Gen. Joseph Warren was the second. In reply to his notification Gen. Whitcomb said he would remain in the service until the army was regulated and properly encamped and then would ask his discharge. The committee were ordered by the Provincial Congress to fill up a commission for Gen. Whitcomb, and June 26 voted to date it June 21, 1775, and the president was desired to administer to Gen. Whitcomb the oath of the general officers of the army and deliver him his commission. This shows that Gen. Whitcomb supposed he had authority to act as a general officer June 17.

Perhaps Col. Scamman should have pushed forward when he first reached Cobble Hill, but under the circumstances he evidently was justified in acting as he did. Four weeks after the event Gen. Whitcomb did not remember of giving the order, but officers and men of Scamman's regiment heard it, and so testified at the investigation.

The time of the battle of Bunker Hill from the first fire of the musketry until the last was about one hour and a half. The general battle, with small arms, began about half-past three and ended about five o'clock. General Washington says that the number of Americans engaged at any one time was about fifteen hundred, but the authorities conflict in their statements as to numbers engaged on both sides.

Charges were preferred against Col. Scamman for disobedience of orders and for not showing the proper spirit during the battle. A court martial was convened for his trial, July 13, before which those who had knowledge of the facts testified, and after hearing all the evidence, the Court, on the seventeenth, returned the verdict that "Col. Scamman is not guilty of the charge brought against him." This should have settled the matter, but it did not. There was ill feeling against the colonel which did not subside. Some time after the battle Dr. Church published a letter in which he reflected on the conduct of Col. Scamman on the seventeenth of June, in answer to which Scamman sent the following letter and document for publication :—

Mr. Hall,

I have observed when you published Dr. Church's letter, that my name was mentioned to my disadvantage: therefore, in justice to my character, I am constrained to request that you would give the proceedings of a General Court Martial, held at Headquarters, in Cambridge, by order of his Excellency George Washington Esq., General and Commander-in-chief of all the American forces, (with some remarks upon the deposition then taken), a place in your useful paper; that the public may judge how far I deserve the defamation given by the said Doctor. In granting this request, you will oblige many of your constant readers, and in particular

Your humble servant

James Scamman

The following is the report of the court martial, which is no doubt the best evidence extant of the movements of Col. Scamman's regiment during the progress of the battle of Bunker Hill.

(Minutes of the Court, with Comments by Colonel Scammans.)

General Court Martial held July 13th, 1775.

Col. Nixon, President ; with one Lieut. Colonel, one Major, and ten Captains.

William Tudor, Judge Advocate.

The Court being duly sworn, proceeded to the trial of Col. Scammans of the Massachusetts forces, who was bro't before the Court, and accused of disobedience to orders and backwardness in the execution of his duty, in the late action on Bunker's-Hill at Charlestown, on the 17th of June last.

The prisoner being arraigned on the above complaint, pleads not guilty.

The Court postponed the examination of the witnesses to Friday 14th of July, at eight of the clock, to which time the Court was adjourned.

Friday, July 14th. The Court being met according to adjournment ; present all the members as yesterday.

Lieut. James Donnell deposed, about noon we marched to Lechmere's-Point, where we remained one quarter of an hour. Going from the Point, Charlestown was set on fire. Whilst at the Point General Whitcomb ordered Colonel Scammans to march to the hill. The deponent understood the Hill meant was Bunker's-Hill. Col. Scammans then marched to a small hill, about a mile distant from Bunker's-Hill. Col. Scammans sent two serjeants to Bunker's-Hill, to know if his regiment was wanted. We remained on the small hill three-quarters of an hour, during all which time there was a smart fire on Bunker's-Hill, from small arms and cannon. After three quarters of an hour we marched to the hither edge of Bunker's-Hill, where the shot flew very thick. Before we got to the top of the hill, Col. Scammans ordered a retreat ; immediately there was a general retreat of our regiment. Every one made the best of his way off. We were no time that day near enough to engage the enemy. The witness does not know any distinction between Bunker's- and Brewer's-Hill. [*Let it be observed, that this and the foregoing deponent belonged to Old York.*]

The above comment was probably intended to have been inserted after the testimony of the next witness, and was probably put here by mistake.

Ensign Joshua Trafton deposed, about two of the clock (afternoon) we marched from Cambridge to Lechmere's-Point, where we found Gen. Whitcomb who expressed much surprise at finding Col. Scammans take post there. We remained on the Point fifteen minutes and then marched to a small hill below Prospect-Hill. We continued on the small hill about half an hour or more; during which time Col. Scammans sent two Serjeants to Bunker's-Hill, to know if his regiment was wanted. We took the nearest road to Bunker's-Hill, as I suppose; and before we got to the top of the hill, Colonel ordered a retreat. I cannot say whether the breast-work was forced or not at that time. We saw many men retreating down the hill who said they had spent all their ammunition; some told us that the enemy had retreated and begged us to push on. As we turned off the small hill, a regiment marched by us towards Bunker's-Hill. As we marched from Cambridge we heard the regulars were landing at Lechmere's Point and at Charlestown. Col. Scammans made the greatest despatch from the small hill to Bunker's-Hill. I saw no other instance of backwardness in Colonel Scammans, except his long stay at the small hill, which appeared to me unnecessary. As we retreated a number of men advanced up in an irregular manner.

Ensign Nathan Lord deposed, we were one quarter of an hour near Lechmere's Point; we then marched to a small hill below Prospect-Hill, where we tarried a quarter of an hour, then marched to Bunker-Hill, the nearest way and with as much despatch as we could go. We staid 20 minutes on the small hill, whilst the fire continued on the further part of Bunker's Hill we got to the top of Bunker's-Hill; After which Gen. Putnam came up, and ordered the regiment to advance, within hearing of Col. Scammans; part of the regiment then advanced, but the deponent does not know if Col. Scammans was with them. I heard several persons, whom I took to be officers, order a retreat before Col. Scammans did. After we got over Charlestown Neck, going up Bunker's-Hill, Col. Scammans

cried, Come my Yorkshire lads, now let us show our bravery ; the deponent does not know the distinction between Bunker's and Brewer's-Hill.

Major Daniel Wood deposed, we marched from near Lechmere's-Point, to a small hill, nearly opposite to Prospect Hill, where we remained near three quarters of an hour, during most of the time, we were on that Hill, there was a smart fire on what I take to be the easterly part of Bunker's-Hill. [*Remarks, That the Major could not say any more upon the case, for he was not so happy as to reach Bunker's-Hill for the whole day.*]

Capt. Ebenezer Sullivan deposed and said, we continued on the small hill half an hour ; some considerable part of the time we were there, there was a heavy fire from the further part of the hill in Charlestown. After we retreated, Col. Scammans encouraged the men to advance. The regiment was not near enough to engage the enemy.

Capt. Philip Hubbard deposed, the reason of our going to Lechmere's-Point was, because we met expresses, who told us the regulars were landing at that place ; when we got to Lechmere's-Point, Gen. Whitcomb told Col. Scammans, he had better go and watch the floating batteries, and then marched to the small hill, where we staid half an hour. As soon as Col. Scammans discovered Charlestown meeting-house on fire he marched the regiment with all possible dispatch, towards Bunker's-Hill, we met great number's retreating down. The confusion was so great before he got to the top of the hill, it was impossible to form. I saw nothing of irresolution or backwardness in Colonel Scammans anytime of the day.

Lieut. Cuzons deposed, that at Lechmere's-Point, Gen. Whitcomb told Col. Scammans he had better go to that hill, meaning, as the deponent took it, the small hill, which they marched to, and watch the motions of the floating batteries. As soon as Colonel Scammans heard the firing of the small arms, at the hill in Charlestown, he said he would stay there no longer, and ordered the regiment to march for Bunker's-Hill, which he did. I know nothing of Col. Scamman's behaviour at Bunker's-Hill.

Lieutenant Morgan Lewis deposed and said I saw nothing of cowardice or backwardness in Col. Scammans that day.

Lieut. Thomas Cutts in substance as Lieut. Lewis.

Serjeant Amaziah Goodwin agrees with Lieut. Cutts.

Serjeant Samuel Goodale deposed, that General Whitcomb ordered Col. Scammans from Lechmere's-Point to take possession of the small hill, and watch the motions of the floating batteries; I was sent by Col. Scammans to General Putnam, to know if his regiment was wanted; and before I got back, Col. Scammans was on his march towards Bunkers'-Hill. I saw Colonel Scammans two-thirds of the way up the hill, but knew nothing of his conduct there.

John Littlefield deposed, that as we marched down, we heard the regulars were landing at Lechmere's-Point. I know nothing of Col. Scamman's behaviour.

Jonathan Love deposed and said, when we were upon Bunker's-Hill, an officer ordered us to retreat as the enemy had forced the entrenchment, after which Col. Scammans ordered us to retreat.

Joseph Parsons, drummer, deposed and said, we were three-quarters of an hour on the little round hill, and the firing of the small arms lasted half-an-hour, when we marched off towards Bunker's-Hill. I know nothing of Col. Scammans's behaviour at Bunker's-Hill.

The Court then called on Col. Scammans to make his defence, upon which the following evidence was produced:

Capt. Jeremiah Hill deposed and said that down by the bridge near Lechmere's-Point we met Gen. Whitcomb, who told Col. Scammans that he was sufficient to guard that Point and told Col. Scammans that he had better go round to the little hill and watch their motions there, we accordingly went and stayed there half-an-hour.

Col. John Whitcomb, who is styled by the foregoing deponents General, deposed and said, I met Col. Scammans with his regiment about fifty rods from Lechmere's-Point. I asked him what brought him there, he replied by asking me where he should go. I told him where he could do the most service. I am positive I never ordered him to the little hill, if my memory serves me, because men could be of no service in such a place except in the night.

[*N. B. Colonel Whitcomb then acted as a general officer, and as there was then no general officer that commanded on Bunker's-Hill,*

was it not his duty to have been there? We may also observe, that he is positive if his memory served him, which (by the deposition of others) did not.]

The Court then adjourned till Saturday morning, 8 o'clock.

Saturday A. M. The Court met according to adjournment.

Col. Scammans begged liberty to produce the four next witnesses, who were admitted and sworn accordingly.

Henry Foss, drummer, deposed, that as we marched down Cambridge road, we met two men on horseback, who told us the regulars were landing at Lechmere-Point. We then marched very fast, towards the point where we met Gen. Whitcomb, who told Col. Scammans to go round to the hill, which hill I understood to mean the little round hill, we marched to. I was within ten feet of General Whitcomb, when these orders were given.

Ichabod Smith deposed and said I was about ten feet from Gen. Whitcomb, at Lechmere's-Point, when I heard him desire Colonel Scammans to march round, and observe the motions of the floating batteries which lay near the little hill. We marched to the little hill and continued there about twenty minutes. As soon as Col. Scammans found out where the firing of the small arms was, he immediately marched the regiment towards Bunker's-Hill, with the utmost dispatch.

Samuel Hubbard deposed and said, I was within ten feet of Gen. Whitcomb, and heard him order Col. Scammans to go to the hill. But the deponent does not know what hill. I heard Colonel Scammans ask the General if he could go across the marsh, which was the nearest way to the little hill. Gen. Whitcomb replied, that he could not, but must go up, and round by the roads.

Frethy Spencer agrees with Hubbard exactly, being close to him during the conversation between General Whitcomb and Col. Scammans.

Adjutant Marsden was sworn at the desire of the complainants and deposed that we were three-quarters of an hour on the little hill and continued about twenty minutes after we heard of the firing on the hill in Charlestown. I went half-way up Bunker's hill with Col. Scammans when I left him and went to the breastwork, where I got before the enemy forced it; the confusion was so great when

we got to Bunker's-Hill we could not form the regiment. [*It is observable that the Adjutant would insinuate by his deposition that the regiment arrived at Bunker's-Hill time enough to reinforce the breast-work before it was forced by the enemy, but if the public will only consider that those regiments which were stationed only two miles distance, did not arrive seasonable enough, and that the deponent had heretofore perjured himself by his desertion from the enemy, and by his common deportment discovers no regard to the Deity, his deposition will have but little weight with them.*]

The prisoner then made a few remarks on the evidence and withdrew.

The Court being cleared, entered upon the examination of the evidence collectively, and after debate, adjourned to Monday 17th July, eight o'clock A. M.

[Monday] July 17. The Court being met according to adjournment, and resumed the consideration of the case of Col. Scammans, and have duly weighed the allegations and proofs brought against the prisoner with his defence and evidence, are of the opinion that the said Col. Scammans is not guilty of the charge brought against him.

A true copy of the proceedings,

Attest

John Nixon, President.

William Tudor, Judge Advocate.

The above report is as published in the New England Chronicle or Essex Gazette in 1776, which was reprinted in The Historical Magazine, Volume III, Second Series, page 400, *verbatim et literatim*. The remarks within the brackets, in italics, were inserted by Col. Scamman. What is printed in the testimony as Brewer's Hill evidently meant Breed's Hill, where the battle was fought.

The Dr. Church letter referred to was the traitorous one dated July 23, 1775, which was published in the New England Chronicle or Essex Gazette January 4,

1776. What he said in reference to Col. Scamman was, when writing of the Americans defeat at Bunker Hill, "which together with the cowardice of the clumsy Col. Gerrish and Col. Scamman were the lucky occasion of their (the Americans) defeat." The newspaper was published at Cambridge in 1776, by Ebenezer and Samuel Hall, Samuel retired and Ebenezer disposed of his interest before June of that year, he being succeeded by Edward Eveleth Powers and Nathaniel Willis. Dr. Benjamin Church was banished from the country a few months after the date of the letter for his treachery to the patriots of the early days of the Revolution.

From one of the remarks made by Col. Scamman in the foregoing report it is quite evident that he expected unfavorable criticism from some of the officers of his regiment, especially those from the town of York. He was not himself free from all appearances of enmity toward them. The reason for the feeling of the York officers was probably the fact that Scamman did not withdraw from the colonelcy at the formation of the regiment. Then perhaps Scamman may have been favorable for Scammell to have been the major, instead of Wood, as James Sullivan, who recommended Scammell, was from the same locality as Col. Scamman, whose remark in the report shows ill-feeling against Major Wood. Probably this feeling may have had some influence in preventing Scamman from obtaining another commission to command a regiment. Most of the other officers were again commissioned in the army.

Henry Dearborn, who was a captain in Stark's regiment, in the battle of Bunker Hill, wrote, in 1818, of the battle : —

Nothing like discipline had entered at that time. No general officer except Putnam appeared in sight, nor did any officer assume command, undertake to form the troops, or give any orders that I heard except Col. Stark, who directed his regiment to reserve their fire on the retreat of the enemy until they advanced again. Every platoon officer was engaged in discharging his own musket and left his men to fire as they pleased, but never without a sure aim at some particular object, which was more destructive than any mode which could have been adopted with troops who were not inured to discipline and never had been in battle, but were still familiar with the use of arms from boyhood, and each having his peculiar manner of loading and firing, which had been practised upon for years with the same gun ; any attempt to control them by uniformity and system, would have rendered their fires infinitely less fatal to the enemy. Not an officer or soldier of the Continental troops engaged was in uniform, but were in the plain and ordinary dress of citizens, nor was there an officer on horseback.

Frothingham's table of the American losses in the battle of Bunker Hill gives two men wounded in Col. Scamman's regiment, when and where is not stated, but probably it was when they marched up Bunker's Hill in their advance toward the battlefield.

Gen. Washington took command of the army at Cambridge, July 3, and the following is an extract from his order organizing the regiments into an army.

Headquarters, Cambridge, July 22, 1775.

Regularity and due subordination being so essentially necessary to the good order and government of an army, and without it the whole must soon become a scene of disorder and confusion. The general finds it indispensably necessary, without waiting any longer

for despatches from the general Continental Congress, immediately to form the army into three grand divisions, and of dividing each of those grand divisions into two brigades.

According to the above order the army was organized into six brigades, and they into three divisions. Col. Scamman's regiment was assigned to Gen. William Heath's brigade, which was assigned to Gen. Israel Putnam's division, which formed the center of the army. The regiment was stationed at Cambridge, and manned Fort No. 1, and the redoubt on the flank of Fort No. 2, where Col. Edmund Phinney's 30th Regiment of Foot, which was in the same brigade, was stationed. Fort No. 1 was on the Charles River, in Cambridge, and was south of Fort No. 2 and Cambridge Village. Cambridge Common was the grand parade ground of the army. On July 10, the aggregate strength of the troops in Cambridge was a little over eight thousand.

In those days the soldiers' guns were not stacked but were rested on wooden horses for the purpose, and in wet weather were taken into their quarters. Offenders against military law were generally punished by lashes on the naked back, the number given being according to the crime committed. Incurrible offenders were drummed out of camp. There was no attempt made for the uniformity of the clothing of the army until the coats were issued in the fall of 1775. The undyed cloth coats, with facings of the same material, that had pewter buttons with the number of the regiment upon them, are what the "Coat Rolls," so often mentioned in the records of the Revolutionary soldiers of 1775, have reference to. Those

coats were furnished the army in the fall of 1775. If a soldier had a coat suitable to keep him comfortable he was not required to take the one from the government, but was allowed to draw twenty-five shillings from the treasury instead.

To distinguish the rank of the officers, an order was issued to the army about Boston, as early as July 23, 1775, for the officers to wear the following marks:— Field officer— Red or pink cockades on their hats. Captains— Yellow or buff on their hats. Subalterns— Green on their hats. Sergeants— Stripes of red cloth sewed on the right shoulder. Corporals— Stripe of green on the right shoulder.

On November 4, 1775, Congress voted that the cloth for the army should be dyed brown, and the distinction of the regiments was to be made in the facings. The idea was that the soldiers should wear waistcoats, knee breeches, and stockings which were covered with leggins in winter, haversacks made of duck, and wooden canteens. Each man was to carry a tomahawk. The poverty of the colonies prevented the uniforming of the army until the latter end of the war. Most of the soldiers were thankful for any kind of comfortable clothing.

The Committee of Safety at Cambridge voted, July 7, 1775, "that it be and is hereby recommended to his Excellency General Washington that an order be issued to suppress retailers of spirituous liquors within or near the camps in such manner as to him seems meet." This was done because a number of soldiers had been "observed to be much disguised with

spirituous liquors." They said effectual measures should be taken to put a stop to this, as "not only the morals and health, but also the lives and liberties of this people will be endangered."

In the journal of the Committee of Safety of the Provincial Congress, is the following record of the delivery of guns to Col. Scamman's regiment, June 30, 1775:—

Fifty-one small arms were delivered Col. James Scamman, for the use of his regiment, amounting, as by appraisement, to ninety-seven pounds eighteen shillings and eight pence, for which guns a receipt was taken in the minute book.

July 7, 1775, forty more were delivered, which were valued at seventy-four pounds thirteen shillings and four pence.

The following was the formation of Col. Scamman's regiment on the first of August:—

THE ROSTER OF COL. JAMES SCAMMAN'S 30TH REGIMENT OF FOOT
AT CAMBRIDGE, 1775.

Colonel,	James Scamman,	Pepperrellboro (Saco)
Lieut. Col.,	Johnson Moulton,	York
Major,	Daniel Wood,	Berwick
Adjt.,	George Marsden,	Londonderry
Chaplain,	Jacob Foster,	Berwick
Quartermaster,	Samuel Nasson,	York
Surgeon,	John Crocker,	Richmond
Surgeon's Mate,	Jacob Baron,	Plymouth
Total, 8 men.		

CAPT. SAMUEL DARBY'S COMPANY.

Captain,	Samuel Darby,	York
Lieutenant,	James Donnell,	"
Ensign,	Joshua Trafton,	"
Total, 66 men.		

COL. JAMES SCAMMAN'S 80TH REGIMENT OF FOOT. 363

CAPT. TOBIAS FERNALD'S COMPANY.

Captain,	Tobias Fernald,	Kittery
Lieutenant,	Thomas Cutts,	"
Ensign,	Parker Foster,	"
Total, 59 men.		

CAPT. EBENEZER SULLIVAN'S COMPANY.

Captain,	Ebenezer Sullivan,	Berwick
1st Lieut.,	Thomas Butler,	"
2d Lieut.,	Nathan Lord, 5th,	"
Total, 64 men.		

CAPT. SAMUEL LEIGHTON'S COMPANY.

Captain,	Samuel Leighton,	Kittery
Lieutenant,	William Fernald,	"
Ensign,	William Frost,	"
Total, 47 men.		

CAPT. SAMUEL SAWYER'S COMPANY.

Captain,	Samuel Sawyer,	Wells
1st Lieut.,	William Cossens,	"
2d Lieut.,	Jeremiah Littlefield,	"
Total, 66 men.		

CAPT. JEREMIAH HILL'S COMPANY.

Captain,	Jeremiah Hill,	Biddeford
Lieutenant,	Samuel Merrill,	Buxton
Ensign,	Peter Page,	Pepperrellboro
Total, 60 men.		

CAPT. JOSHUA BRAGDON'S COMPANY.

Captain,	Joshua Bragdon,	Wells
Lieutenant,	Morgan Lewis,	Sanford
Ensign,	Moses Sweet,	"
Total, 57 men.		

CAPT. PHILIP HUBBARD'S COMPANY.

Captain,	Philip Hubbard,	Berwick
1st Lieut.,	Jedidiah Goodwin,	"
2d Lieut.,	James Roberts,	"
Total, 64 men.		

CAPT. JONATHAN NOWELL'S COMPANY.

Captain,	Jonathan Nowell,	York
Lieutenant,	Thomas Nowell,	"
Ensign,	Edward Low,	"
Total, 50 men.		

CAPT. JESSE DORMAN'S COMPANY.

Captain,	Jesse Dorman,	Arundel
Lieutenant,	Daniel Merrill,	"
Ensign,	Jacob Curtis,	"
Total, 60 men.		

SUMMARY.

Field and Staff Officers,	8 men
Capt. Samuel Darby's Company,	66 "
" Tobias Fernald's "	59 "
" Ebenezer Sullivan's "	64 "
" Samuel Leighton's "	47 "
" Samuel Sawyer's "	66 "
" Jeremiah Hill's "	60 "
" Joshua Bragdon's "	57 "
" Philip Hubbard's "	64 "
" Jonathan Nowell's "	50 "
" Jesse Dorman's "	60 "
Total,	601 "

The service of Col. Scamman's regiment at Cambridge, after the arrival of Gen. Washington, was not an eventful one. There were no battles. The firing between the lines was desultory, and the encounters with the enemy were in the nature of skirmishes. The American army was in a destitute condition to maintain the siege of Boston, and confront the British regulars. Washington, realizing his weakness, only hoped that the British would not make an attack on his lines until they could be strengthened, but from

what source help was to come he then could not tell. As this regiment was in the same brigade with Col. Edmund Phinney's 30th Regiment of Foot, the details in their history,¹ in relation to the events from day to day, are equally as interesting in the service of these men, for their service was the same.

Col. Scamman's regiment served until December 31, 1775, and that army is known as the eight month service men at Cambridge, in 1775. Col. Scamman returned home at the expiration of his term of service, but most of the other commissioned officers reenlisted January 1, 1776, in the Continental army, for that year, in Col. Phinney's 18th Continental and Col. Prescott's 7th Continental regiments, while others joined different companies in the service of the colony. Probably nearly all of the men of Scamman's regiment entered the service again sometime during the struggle for our independence.

Col. Scamman's regiment did its duty. The misfortunes at the battle of Bunker Hill were something that might be liable to happen to any regiment similarly situated, at such a time, in an army without a commander and little organization and with no discipline, as now understood. No insinuation has ever been made that the men of this regiment were anything but brave patriots of the Revolution. In the subsequent campaigns they showed their gallantry, and the records of these sons of York are found in the histories of all the important battles of the Revolutionary War. Maine cherishes their memory.

¹ For the history of Col. Edmund Phinney's 31st Regiment of Foot, see Volume VII, Second Series, page 85.

Old York County has an enviable war record. In the early Indian wars, her sons, with her Major Charles Frost, and others, drove back their savage enemies. They were at Louisburg, with their own Pepperell, in 1745; at Ticonderoga, with Abercrombie and Lord Howe in 1758; through the siege of Boston with Washington; in the battles of Long Island, Hubbardton, Stillwater and Saratoga, and witnessed the surrender of Burgoyne's army. They spent that winter at Valley Forge, and were at Monmouth, Quaker Hill, and other battles, following the fortunes of the army, and saw the surrender at Yorktown in 1781. Since we became a nation they have never been found wanting in their devotion to their country. It has been the same with our whole state. Our troops in the Rebellion were the peer of any in the army. One of our regiments was engaged in the greatest number of battles and another had the highest percentage of loss in a single battle. In the late Spanish war no more earnest and willing soldiers left any state. They begged to be put in the forefront of the battle where would be the greatest danger. They were of our best, and left their homes and vocations without a murmur, to battle for the liberty of an oppressed people, that they might enjoy with us the blessing of liberty. The history of the sons of Maine is something for us to be proud of.

The following muster rolls, taken from the originals in the Archives of Massachusetts, give the names of the men who composed Col. Scamman's regiment, August 1, 1775.

COL. JAMES SCAMMAN'S 30TH REGIMENT OF FOOT. 367

A Muster Roll of the Field & Staff Officers Commanded by Col. James Scammans from the Day of Engagement to the 1st Day of August, 1775.

			<i>Enlisted.</i>
			1775
James Scamons,	Col.,	Pepperrellboro,	April 26
Johnson Moulton,	Lt. Col.,	York,	May 2
Daniel Wood,	Major,	Berwick,	"
George Marsden,	Adjnt.,	Londonderry,	April 29
Jacob Foster,	Chaplain,	Berwick,	May 3
Samuel Nasson,	Qt Master,	York,	" 2
John Crocker,	Surgeon,	Richmond,	" 18
Jacob Baron,	Surg'n's Mate,	Plymouth,	June 3

Original Roll in Massachusetts Archives, Volume XXVI, page 251.

Col. James Scamman was born in Saco, March 16, 1742, and was the son of James Scamman, who was born August 1, 1721, and died in 1753. His mother was married in 1741, and she was Hannah Plaisted, a daughter of Col. Elisha and Hannah (Wheelwright) Plaisted, and was born at Berwick, May 20, 1725. She married (2) July 4, 1754, Major Ebenezer Ayer from Haverhill, and had by him six children. By James Scamman she had two sons and three daughters.

Col. Scamman married about 1761, Hannah Page, a daughter of Joshua and Hannah (Dustin) Page, who was born in Dunbarton, New Hampshire, February 20, 1742, and died at Saco, January 24, 1821. She was a great granddaughter of the famous Hannah Dustin of Haverhill, Massachusetts. They had the following children :—

1. James, born January 30, 1763 ; married December 20, 1785, Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. John Fairfield, and had two sons. He

died October 4, 1789, and his widow married May 19, 1793, John Storer of Wells, and had four daughters.

2. Daniel, sea captain, born December 12, 1764; married September 10, 1790, Sarah Nason, who had one son and one daughter; both died unmarried. His widow married (2) May 18, 1796, Ichabod, son of Rev. John Fairfield, and had seven children, the oldest being Gov. John Fairfield of Maine. Daniel Scamman died at Demerara of yellow fever April 25, 1795.

3. Nathaniel, sea captain, born March 3, 1767; married in Scarboro, February 19, 1795, Abigail, daughter of Solomon Burnham, but had no children. He died March 23, 1810, aged 43 years. His widow married (2) January 3, 1811, Shubal Woodman and died February 27, 1853.

4. Sarah Andrews, born October 16, 1768; married August 2, 1789, Foxwell Cutts, a son of Col. Thomas and Elizabeth (Scamman) Cutts, and died August 1, 1806. She had no children.

5. William, born September 17, 1770, and died January 2, 1788. In Rev. John Fairfield's dairy under date of March 23, 1788, he says: "call^d between meetings to Colo Scammans, he at Boston—had news of ye death of his Son W^m fr. W. Indies—on B^d his Schooner, Nathl. Commander."

The Scamman pedigree was Humphrey¹, Capt. Humphrey², James³, Col. James⁴.

It is thought Col. Scamman early went to Haverhill, Massachusetts, as he was of that place July 9, 1764. In the Biddeford town records is the following:—

This Indenture of Agreement made & concluded upon 7th of Jan. A. D., 1771 by & between Jas. Scamman & Nathl Scamman witnesseth—That whereas the said Jas. Scamman & Nathl Scamman have sold sundry goods from the 2nd day of Ap. last to this 7th day of Jan. aforesaid it is agreed by the said Jas. & Nathl. that they do enter into joint Partnership from said date & do mutually agree to make & discharge all debts in equal halves until they agree to dissolve said Partnership, that it is to be understood the

said James & Nathl are jointly concerned in all the trade they may carry on together in Pep^o (now Saco) & not to extend to any trade or business the said Jas. does or may carry on in Haverhill where the said James now dwells—it is further agreed that if the said Jas does not remove to Pep^o the next Spring ensuing to assist the said Nathl in carrying on said trade as aforesaid then the said Jas. does agree to allow the said Nathl annually for his services in doing the whole of said business—to the time &c &c.

The above indicates that James Scamman came to Saco about 1772, and was on the Committee of Correspondence there November 9, 1774, also in 1782. After the war service in 1775 he is thought to have returned to Pepperrellboro and entered into trade, again with his brother, Nathaniel. He was a representative from Saco in 1781-83, and 1787. From 1790 to 1796 he lived at Buxton, where he was engaged in trade, but returned to Saco, where he died October 11, 1804, aged sixty-two years. The following was his epitaph, written by the Hon. Cyrus King:—

A man of infinite jest; of most excellent fancy.

This stone to strangers may impart,
The place where Scamman lies;
But every friend consults his heart,
For there he never dies.

Col. James Scamman enlisted April 26, 1775, with, no doubt, the distinct understanding that if he succeeded in raising a full regiment, he should be commissioned its colonel. That there was strong opposition to him there is no question, but there seems to have been no fault with his personal character, and he is spoken highly of by those among whom he lived.

Folsom, in the History of Saco, said "he was well fitted to shine in the military profession; possessing vigor of mind and body, and a gaiety of temper which secured the good-will and attachment of all such as were under his command. We have been assured by persons who served with him that his bravery could not be justly questioned, and yet a misdirection of his regiment on the memorable 17th of June has been made the occasion of reproach." Then he said: "Attempts were, however, made to injure his reputation by individuals who aspired to his commission, &c."

Col. Scamman, after the expiration of his term of service, returned to private life, but he felt keenly the injustice done him. When the three years' regiments were being formed, in the fall of 1776, he applied for permission to raise one of them with which he might vindicate himself before his countrymen. The following is a copy of his original petition to the General Court:—

"To The Honorable the Council and House of Representatives of the State of the Massachusetts Bay—

Humbly shews James Scamman that whereas his conduct has been called in question respecting the Battle of Charlestown in June 1775 wherein the Disposition made was such as could render but Little prospect of success and he being willing to shew his Country that he is ready at all Times to risque his Fortune and Life in defence of it would readily engage again in the service thereof and begs leave to inform your Honours that he has no doubt that he can raise a Regiment immediately for the service of the Continent and therefore prays to be indulged with a Commission for that purpose and this he does not with a view to any emolument but for to take

off any objection now resting in the mind of any of his Countrymen against him—& he will ever pray &c

JAMES SCAMMAN

Pepperrelboro
Nov 14th 1776.

The original is in the Massachusetts Archives. The petition was written by some other person, but signed by Col. Scamman.

The above application shows no lack of spirit or patriotism. The question suggested to the minds of his countrymen is whether it might not have been better for the regiment and himself had he consented to have been the lieutenant colonel, as he was asked to be at the time, instead of the colonel in the face of such opposition.

Col. James Scamman was deputy adjutant general on the staff of Maj. Gen. Goodwin in the militia, in 1788, and several years after. He was a successful man in business and left considerable property to his heirs. His name is one that will always be connected with the history of those times in Maine, and will receive the reverence it justly deserves.

Lieut. Col. Johnson Moulton of York was a captain in the French and Indian war, and at the reception of the news from Lexington raised a company in his town, which was into New Hampshire before the next night, armed and equipped. This was the first company out of the province of Maine in the Revolution. He enlisted May 2, 1775, and was appointed lieutenant colonel of Col. Scamman's regiment, although he had received the recommendation of the militia officers

of York County for the colonelcy. His commission was dated May 29, 1775. After his services in this regiment, he was the lieutenant colonel of Col. William Prescott's (he of Bunker Hill fame) 7th Continental regiment, in 1776, serving through the siege of Boston, and then joined Gen. Nixon's brigade in Gen. Nathaniel Greene's division, and took part in the Long Island campaign. After the war he was the sheriff of York County and served several years.

Lieut. Col. Moulton was the son of Ebenezer Moulton of York, where he was probably born. His first wife died August 4, 1782, her name and age to me unknown. He married for his second wife Mary Bragdon (intention October 11, 1783), who died December 23, 1794. He died June 13, 1793, and left children, Johnson, jr., Elizabeth Woodbridge and Mary.

Johnson Moulton made a will October 11, 1791, and said, "being weak in body and not knowing how few days remains to me in this world" &c, &c. Among the articles that appear on the inventory of his estate were a "gun and bayonet, 1 pair pistols, 1 pair spurrs, 1 pair old ditto, a hanger (sword), and an esponton," a kind of halberd or pick used in the British army. Col. Moulton's name should be revered in the town whose Revolutionary history he aided so much in making illustrious.

Major Daniel Wood enlisted from Berwick, May 2, 1775, and is said to have raised the company that was commanded by Capt. Ebenezer Sullivan. He served in Scamman's regiment in 1775, and, January 1, 1776,

joined Col. Loammi Baldwin's 26th Continental regiment and served through that year. He served through the siege of Boston and was in the Long Island campaign in Gen. James Clinton's brigade, in Gen. Putnam's division.

Major Wood was living in Shapleigh, in 1793, where he made a will in 1811, which was probated in September, 1819, in which he mentions his wife, Mary, and children, Daniel, jr., his executor, Job, Enoch and Elias, who had died.

Adj't. George Marsden of Londonderry was, according to a remark of Col. Scamman, a deserter from the British army. He enlisted in this regiment, April 29, 1775, and served through the year. January 1, 1776, he enlisted in the same capacity in Col. William Prescott's 7th Continental regiment, serving until their term expired. He became first lieutenant in Col. Henry Shurburne's Additional Continental regiment October 1, 1777, and resigned, August 10, 1778.

Chaplain Jacob Foster of Berwick, where he was ordained in 1757, and preached twenty-one years, enlisted as the chaplain of this regiment, May 3, 1775, and served through the year. He joined Col. Edmund Phinney's 18th Continental regiment, January 1, 1776, and resigned, February 28, 1776.

Quartermaster Samuel Nasson of York enlisted, May 2, 1775, in this regiment and was an ensign and quartermaster in Col. William Prescott's 7th Continental regiment from January 1 until December 31, 1776. He served through the siege of Boston and took part

in the Long Island campaign. He was the town clerk and a selectman of Sanford for several years.

Samuel Nasson married, first, Mary Shores, daughter of Peter, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and second, Joanna, widow of Jotham Moulton, March 3, 1778. He moved to Sanford after his second marriage, where, it is said, he had four children. He had, at least, Samuel, born October 12, 1760, died young; G. Hodgkins and Samuel, twins, born October 15, 1761; Peter, born April 15, 1766; William, born August 15, 1767; Susannah, born November 6, 1768, these by first wife and there were probably others. It is said he died in Ballston Spa, New York, in 1800, where he went for his health.

Surgeon John Crocker of Richmond enlisted May 13, 1775, in this regiment, and was also the surgeon of the brigantine Hazard, commanded by John Foster Williams, having been commissioned June 29, 1778, and was discharged April 20, 1779. As early as May 7, 1775, the Committee of Safety recommended to the Provincial Congress to allow the colonel of each regiment to nominate the surgeon, and he his mate, unless there were some material objections made against them.

Surgeon's mate, Jacob Baron, of Plymouth, joined this regiment, June 3, 1775, and was probably the same person who was the surgeon of the brig Freedom, commanded by Capt. John Clouston. He was commissioned September 4, 1777, and was captured by the British and exchanged for Dr. Joseph Mills of

the ship *Maesgwin*, on a list of prisoners, dated February 24, 1778.

CAPT. SAMUEL DARBY'S COMPANY.

Capt. Samuel Darby of York, afterwards called Derby, was the first lieutenant of Capt. Johnson Moulton's York company, enlisting April 21, 1775, which was the first out of the province of Maine in the Revolutionary war, and served four days. On his return he raised this company, enlisting May 2, 1775, and served through that year. He was a captain in Col. William Prescott's 7th Continental regiment in 1776, serving through the siege of Boston, and took part in the Long Island campaign. On January 1, 1777, he joined Col. John Bailey's 2d Massachusetts regiment, and spent the winter of 1777-78 at Valley Forge. He was commissioned major in Col. Ichabod Alden's, afterwards Lieut. Col. John Brook's 7th Massachusetts regiment, November 1, 1778. Col. Alden was killed in the Cherry Valley massacre, in November, 1778. Afterward he served in Col. Michael Jackson's 8th Massachusetts regiment and served to the end of the war on the Hudson River, near Peekskill and West Point. He acted at one time as brigade inspector and was on furlough by Gen. McDougall from December 3, 1781, to March 1, 1782. His record is a certificate of his gallantry.

Major Darby died intestate, in 1807, and Reuben Derby was appointed administrator July 7, 1807. His wife's name was Mary.

"A Muster Roll of the Company under the Command of Captain Samuel Darby in Colonel James Scamman's Regiment to the first of August, 1775."

Enlisted, all 1775.

Samuel Darby,	Capt.,	York,	May 2
James Dunnell,	Lieut.,	"	" 2
Joshua Trafton,	Ensign,	"	" 2
Joshua Grant,	Sergt.,	Barwick,	" 3
Abraham Pray,	"	York,	" 4
John Kingsbury,	"	"	" 3
Benjamin Lee,	"	"	" 3
John Tinney,	Corp.	"	" 3
Jotham Webber,	"	"	" 3
John McCasline,	"	"	" 3
Jotham Donell,	"	"	" 3
Joseph Parsons,	Drummer	"	" 5
Willm Conway,	Fifer	"	" 3

Privates.

James Austing,	"	" 4
John Beal,	"	" 4
Stephen Baker,	"	" 4
Arthur Bridges,	"	" 4
Joshua Bridges,	"	" 4
Samuel Baker,	"	" 4
Daniel Bain,	"	" 3
Nehemiah Booker,	"	" 4
Edmund Bridges,	"	" 4
Mathies Bail,	"	July 21
Obediah Donell,	"	May 4
David Davis,	"	" 4
James Dempsy,	"	" 4
Richd Dean,	"	" 4
James Fitzgerald,	"	" 4
Rubin Freeman,	"	" 3
Jonathan Farnum,	"	" 4
Daniel Grant,	"	" 3
Peter McGee,	Georgetown,	" 5
Jesper Grant,	York,	" 5
Cornelius Hill,	"	" 3
Elikam Hilton,	"	" 4
Thomas Horn,	"	" 4
Daniel Lunt,	"	" 4

COL. JAMES SCAMMAN'S 30TH REGIMENT OF FOOT. 377

Joshua McLucas,	York,	May 3
Theodor Lovejoy,	"	" 4
Tarrance McMeHone,	Georgetown,	" 5
Josiah Moore,	York,	" 3
Ephriam Moore,	"	" 4
Richard Morris,	"	" 3
Amos Maine,	"	" 3
Peter Nowill,	"	" 3
Shubal Nasson,	"	" 5
Paul Nowell,	"	" 5
Spencer Pirkins,	"	" 3
Jeddiah Pribble,	"	" 4
David Pribble,	"	" 4
Edwd Pribble,	"	" 4
Nathaniel Ramsdell,	"	" 5
Joseph Standley,	"	" 5
John Sutton,	"	" 4
William Sergeant,	"	" 5
William Simpson,	"	" 4
William Worster,	"	" 4
Eliphet Trafton,	"	" 4
Daniel Webber,	"	" 4
Samuel Welsh,	"	" 3
John Young,	"	" 3
Seasor, a Negro,	"	" 3
Josiah Parsons,	"	" 3
John Davis,	"	" 3
James Sellars,	"	" 3
Jeremiah Holt,	"	" 3

Original roll in Massachusetts Archives, Volume XIV., page 74. Total, 66 men. All supplied themselves with guns and equipments. Those from York were allowed 80 miles travel and Georgetown 180.

CAPT. TOBIAS FERNALD'S COMPANY.

Capt. Tobias Fernald of Kittery was the son of Tobias Fernald, and was born February 1, 1744; married, in 1780, Dorcas McIntire of York, Maine, and had two daughters, Harriet and Julia. His widow

married Capt. Richard Rogers of Kittery, a Revolutionary soldier. He died August 15, 1784, aged forty years.

Capt. Fernald enlisted in Scamman's regiment May 3, 1775, and was commissioned June 2. He entered Col. Phinney's 18th Continental regiment January 1, 1776, and served until November 6, 1776, when he was appointed major of Col. Samuel Brewer's 12th Massachusetts regiment, promoted to lieutenant-colonel of Col. Michael Jackson's 8th Massachusetts regiment, March 6, 1779, transferred to Col. Thomas Marshall's 10th Massachusetts regiment January 1, 1781, and retired January 1, 1783. He lived on land now occupied by the navy yard at Kittery.

Capt. Tobias Fernald's regiments served through the siege of Boston, reenforced the Northern army in the fall of 1776, and was at Stillwater and Saratoga, witnessed the surrender of Burgoyne's army, spent the winter at Valley Forge, where he signed the oath of allegiance, and fought in the battle of Monmouth. The balance of his service was probably spent on the Hudson River.

"A Muster Roll of the Company under the Command of Captain Tobias Fernald in Colonel James Scamman's Regiment to the first of August 1775."

<i>Enlisted, all 1775.</i>			
Tobias Fernald,	Capt.,	Kittery,	May 3
Thomas Cutts,	Lieut.,	"	" 3
Parker Foster,	Ensign,	"	" 12
John Chase,	Sergt.,	"	" 3
Nathan Coffin,	"	"	" 3
Thomas H. Lewis,	"	"	" 12
John Pray,	"	"	" 16

COL. JAMES SCAMMAN'S 30TH REGIMENT OF FOOT. 379

William Cole,	Corp.,	Kittery,	May 3
Noah Cutts,	"	"	" 3
Timothy Remmick,	"	"	" 8
Benjamin Akerman,	"	Portsmouth,	" 15
James McIntire,	Drummer,	Boston,	July 3
Jeremh Grover,	Fifer,	York,	" 23

Privates.

Soloman Staple,	Kittery,	May 3
Josiah Brooks,	"	" 3
Charles Fernald,	"	" 3
Joseph Beal,	"	" 3
John Kelley,	"	" 3
Samuel Brooks,	"	" 3
Cato Black,	"	" 3
Elisha Hamman,	"	" 3
James Fernald,	"	" 3
Isaac Moore,	"	" 3
John Stacy,	"	" 3
George Fernald,	"	" 3
Enoch Davis,	"	" 3
William Wherren,	"	" 8
David Rogers,	"	" 24
William Brooks,	"	" 8
Andrew Lydstone,	"	" 8
William Welch,	"	" 8
Amos Paul,	"	" 8
John Caverly,	Portsmouth,	" 8
Nathaniel Staple,	Kittery,	" 8
Peletiah Hanscom,	"	" 8
Lawrence Ellis,	"	" 11
Benjamin Fernald,	"	" 3
Thomas Spoaksfield,	"	" 12
Nathl Hooper,	"	" 13
Joseph Fernald,	"	" 13
John Main,	York,	" 13
Moses Willson,	Kittery,	" 14
John Smart,	"	" 14
Joseph M. Fitzerl,	Portsmouth,	" 15
Rubin Spinney,	Kittery,	" 15
Simon Libby,	"	June 11
Ebenezer Clarke,	Pepperrelboro,	" 11

Phillip Davis,	Durham (N. H.),	June 18
Moses Amee,	Kittery,	" 23
Daniel Dell,	"	" 23
John Gunnison,	Portsmouth,	July 2
Noah Hutchins,	Kittery,	" 2
James C. Benson,	"	" 2
George Spinney,	"	" 2
Abraham Senter,	Portsmouth,	" 2
Daniel Pribble,	York,	" 2
Rubin Hanscom,	Kittery,	May 22
Thomas Knight,	"	" 22
Isaac Staple,	"	" 22
Tobias Fernald, Capt.		

Original roll in Massachusetts Archives, Volume XIV, page 90. Total, 59 men. Those from Kittery were allowed 70 miles travel, Portsmouth 65, York 73 and 74, and Pepperrellboro 110. All had guns and cartridge boxes, but six had bayonets, which they supplied themselves.

CAPT. EBENEZER SULLIVAN'S COMPANY.

Capt. Ebenezer Sullivan, of Berwick, was commissioned June 2, 1775. It is said that he was in the Northern army in 1776, and later served in Rhode Island, rising to the rank of major, also that at one time he was a prisoner of war. He was an aide-de-camp to Maj.-Gen. Goodwin in the militia in 1788 and 1792. It is stated that he commanded a company against the Indians in the West.

Capt. Sullivan was the son of Master John Sullivan, of Berwick, and a brother to Benjamin, Gen. John, Gov. James and Capt. Daniel Sullivan. He had a sister Mary, who married Theophilus Hardy, and had a distinguished posterity. He was at Berwick in 1795 and was a justice of peace. Willis says, "He was one

of the earliest lawyers in Berwick, and the only one there for several years. His inordinate use of ardent spirit diminished his practise, and he left the state, went to New York city, where he died shortly after." A man who knew Ebenezer Sullivan said, "He was a man of a very fine frame and figure, straight, and about six feet high, and his walk, looks, speech, and every motion of him were indications of being an active, energetic military commander."

"A Muster Roll of the Company under the Command of Capt. Ebenezer Sullivan in Colonel James Scamman's Regiment to the first of August 1775."

All enlisted May 5, 1775, unless otherwise specified.

Ebenezer Sullivan,	Capt.,	Berwick
Thomas Butler,	1st Lieut.,	"
Nathan Lord, 5th,	2d "	"
Richard Yeaton,	Sergt.,	Somersworth
Thomas Hardison,	"	Berwick
Eliphalet Jones,	"	"
Daniel Grant,	"	"
Simeon Chadbourn,	Corp.,	"
Wentworth Lord,	"	"
John Scates,	"	"
Stephen Frost,	"	"
Noah Goodwin,	Drummer,	Somersworth
Philip Worster	Fifer,	Berwick

Privates.

John Abbot,	Berwick
Elisha Andros,	"
John Bracket,	"
Joseph Bracket,	"
John Butler,	"
James Butler,	"
Francis Brock,	"
Scamman Chadbourn,	"
William Chadbourn,	"
David Cook,	Lebanon
Daniel Cook,	"

David Farnham,	Lebanon
Caleb Frost,	Berwick
Jacob Chadwick,	"
Ephriam Goodwin,	"
Abraham Hodsdon,	"
James Hamilton,	"
John Hardison,	"
Stephen Hardison,	"
Benjamin Guptil,	"
Samuel Jones,	Somersworth
John Jeames,	Lebanon
Nathan Libby,	Berwick
Jeremiah Libby,	"
Stephen Nock,	"
Nicholas Nock,	"
James Nock,	"
Zachariah Nock,	"
Joshua Quint,	"
Samuel Pray,	"
William Pierce,	"
Love Roberts,	"
John Rankins,	"
Jeremiah Roberts,	Somersworth
George Ricker,	"
Thomas Rines,	Berwick
Gabril St——e,	"
Mark Tate,	Somersworth
John Witherwell,	"
James Whitehouse,	Lebanon
Miles Thompson,	Berwick, Enlisted June 20, 1775
Miles Ford,	"
Nathan Lord,	"
Enoch Whitehouse,	Somersworth
Benjamin Evans,	"
Ebenezer Guptail,	Berwick
Jonathan Ross,	" Enlisted July 17, 1775
Benjamin Heard,	" do.
Nathan Bracket,	" do.
Nathaniel Butler,	" do.
Ezekiel Ricker,	"

" N. B. The Town & the Captain Billeted the men up to Head Quarters, which amounts to £19—16s—1d."

Original roll in Massachusetts Archives, Volume XVI, page 44. Total, 64 men. This roll returns 36 cartridge boxes and 4 guns furnished by the province. The men had been advanced on their pay £2 each.

CAPT. SAMUEL LEIGHTON'S COMPANY.

Capt. Samuel Leighton was born in Kittery, March 16, 1740, married, in October, 1767, Abigail Frost, daughter of John Frost, and they had nine children. She was born Oct. 5, 1744, and died Nov. 30, 1826. He died suddenly, Feb. 27, 1802, aged 61 years.

Capt. Leighton enlisted May 3, 1775, and was commissioned in Col. Scamman's regiment, June 2, 1775, serving the year out with him. He was the captain of the York County company in Col. Ebenezer Francis' militia regiment, who served in the garrison at Dorchester Heights from August until December, 1776, about three months. He was the captain of the seventh company in the 2d York County militia regiment, in 1776, and was commissioned second major in the same regiment, under Col. Ichabod Goodwin, June 10, 1778.

Capt. Samuel Leighton was a son of Lieut. John Leighton, and his mother was Mary, a daughter of Major John Hill, of Berwick. Capt. Leighton was a prominent man and possessed of considerable property, being the largest tax-payer in the town in 1780.

"A Muster Roll of the Company under the Command of Captain Samuel Leighton in Colonel Scamman's Regiment to the first of August 1775."

Enlisted, all in 1775.

Samuel Leighton,	Capt.,	Kittery.	May 3
William Fernald,	Lieut.,	"	" 3

William Frost,	Ensign,	Kittery,	May 3
William Cole,	Sergt.,	"	" 3
John Johnson,	"	"	" 5
Josiah Paul,	"	"	" 3
Thomas Savage,	"	Portsmouth,	" 5
Enoch Meloon,	Corp.,	"	" 5
Moses Witham,	"	Kittery,	" 14
Stephen Nason,	"	"	" 3
Joshua Fernald,	"	"	" 5
Henry Foss,	Drummer,	Portsmouth,	" 5
John Frost,	Fifer,	Kittery,	" 14

Privates.

Tobias Leighton,	Kittery,	" 3
Simon Frost,	"	" 3
Samuel Neal,	"	" 3
Robert Patch,	"	" 3
Daniel Adams,	Sanford,	" 4
John Ferguson,	Kittery,	" 3
Jonathan Nason,	"	" 3
Daniel Green,	"	" 3
Pelatiah Wittum,	"	" 3
Stephen Forguson,	"	" 3
Charles Frost,	"	" 3
John Manley,	"	" 3
Joshua Emery,	"	" 3
John Goold,	"	" 3
Daniel Lord,	Berwick, ,	" 3
Charles Caverly,	Portsmouth,	" 3
Tobias Hanscomb,	Kittery,	" 5
John Chick,	"	" 5
Ebenezer Hammond,	"	" 6
John Witelock,	"	" 5
James Remick,	"	" 5
Alexander Goold,	"	" 5
Lemuel Smith,	"	" 7
James Emery,	"	" 3
John Jordan,	Portsmouth,	" 5
Charles Sergeant,	"	" 5
James Smart,	Kittery,	" 5
William Nutter,	Portsmouth,	" 5
Frederick Paverly,	"	" 5
Zebedee Sears,	York,	June 10

COL. JAMES SCAMMAN'S 30TH REGIMENT OF FOOT. 385

Thomas Mehaney,	Kittery,	July 4
James Davis,	Sanford,	May 4
William Goold,	Kittery,	" 3
Jeremiah Wittum,	Berwick,	Aug. 1

" Cambridge Decmr 1775

Samuel Leighton Capt."

Original roll in Massachusetts Archives, Volume XV, page 54. Total, 47 men. Each man had a gun, and nearly all cartridge boxes. Only eight had bayonets. Those from Kittery were allowed from 70 to 72 miles travel, Portsmouth 65, Sanford 100, Berwick 76, and York 70. Shirts were charged at 5s. 6d., and shoes at 6s. 8d.

CAPT. SAMUEL SAWYER'S COMPANY.

Capt. Samuel Sawyer, then written Sayer, of Wells, was the first lieutenant in Capt. Noah M. Littlefield's company in the Lexington alarm, where he served five days. He enlisted in Col. Scamman's regiment, May 3, 1775, and was commissioned June 2, serving until December 31. He was a captain in Col. John Patterson's 15th Continental regiment in 1776, who after the siege of Boston, marched to New York, where they proceeded on transports up the Hudson River to Albany, and helped reinforce the Northern army, then near Lake Champlain. He was a captain and then major of the York County battalion in the Bagaduce Expedition in 1779. He enlisted July 7, 1779, and was reported as died August 3, 1779. He, according to Moody's journal, was wounded July 31, and died the next day. Gen. Solomon Lovell, the commander of that expedition, wrote in his journal that Capt. Sawyer was "a brave and worthy good man." The

History of Wells says his "loss was deeply felt throughout the town." He married Mary Littlefield, April 21, 1768.

"A Muster Roll of the Company under the Command of Capt. Samuel Sayer in Colo James Scamman's Regiment to the first of August 1775."

Samuel Sayer,	Capt.,	Wells	{ <i>All Enlisted May 3, 1775, unless otherwise specified</i> }
William Cossens,	1st Lieut.,	"	
Jeremiah Littlefield,	2d Lieut.,	"	
Samuel Stevens,	Sergt.,	"	
George Jacobs,	"	"	
John Littlefield,	"	"	
Samuel Goodwell,	"	"	
Joel Stevens,	Corp.,	"	
Jonathan Low,	"	"	
Stephen Jonson,	"	Sanford	
Nathan Kimbal,	"	Wells	
Joshua Tayler,	Drummer,	"	
Joseph Kilgore,	Fifer,	Sanford	

Privates.

Abraham Barnes,	Sanford
Jonathan Banks,	Wells
Timothy Boston,	"
Jonathan Boston,	"
Timothy Barrons,	"
Danl Chaynea,	"
John Cram,	Sanford
Robert Day,	Wells
Nathaniel Day,	"
William Jillison,	"
Paul Goodwin,	"
Zachariah Getchell,	"
Abner Fisk,	"
Francis Hatch,	"
Abraham Hatch,	"
Joseph Horn,	"
Jonathan Jacobs,	"
Hezekiah Kimball,	"
Ebenezer Loward,	"
Nason Lord,	Sanford
Ebenezer Littlefield,	Wells

Josiah Morrison,	Wells		
Benjamin Morrison,	"		
John Morrison,	"		
Willm Dialing,	"		
John Mitchell,	"		
John Muldram,	"		
Aler Perry,	Sanford		
Joseph Stevens,	Wells		
Reuben Stuart,	"		
Ebenezer Storer,	"		
Abraham Storer,	"		
Henry Tibbetts,	Sanford		
Elephilet Tayler,	Wells		
John Trow,	"		
Seth Tayler,	"		
James Wormwood,	"		
Francis Winn,	"		
Ely Wormwood,	"		
Thomas Goold,	"		
Pelitiah Penny,	"		
Simon Chace,	"		
Joseph Wilkins,	"	enlisted July 5, 1775	
Stephen Annis,	"	"	5, "
Samuel Williams,	"	"	" 5, "
William Gowen,	"	"	" 5, "
Josiah Credetor,	"	"	" 5, "
Peletiah Penny Jr.,	"	"	" 5, "
Stephen Andros,	"	"	" 5, "
Gideon Hatch,	"		
Edmund Welch,	"	"	" 5, "
Joseph Welch,	"	"	" 5, "
Sippo, Black,	"	"	" 5, "

Original roll in Massachusetts Archives, Volume XVI, page 27. Total, 66 men. All had guns and cartridge boxes. Those from Wells were allowed from 87 to 97 miles travel, and Sanford 98.

CAPT. JEREMIAH HILL'S COMPANY.

Capt. Jeremiah Hill, of Biddeford, was born April 30, 1747, and married, September 6, 1772, Mary Emery,

born March 26, 1752, the daughter of Obed and Sarah (Dyer) Emery, of Biddeford. This is a correction in his wife's name, as given in the History of Col. Phinney's regiment. Capt. Hill was the son of Jeremiah and Mary (Smith) Hill, and died June 11, 1820, aged 73 years.

Capt. Hill, beside his service in Scamman's regiment, was a captain in Col. Edmund Phinney's 18th Continental regiment and January 1, 1777, was commissioned as captain in Col. Joseph Vose's 1st Massachusetts regiment, and resigned November 4, 1777. He was commissary of prisoners in Rhode Island, in 1778, and was the adjutant general of the Bagaduce Expedition in 1779. His service covered the siege of Boston, the march to Fort Ticonderoga in the fall of 1776, the Saratoga campaign, in Rhode Island, and at Bagaduce served until the eighth of October. He lost his commission in that retreat and applied for another. He was town clerk, a representative to the General Court, a justice of peace, and was the first collector of Saco, 1789 to 1809. He had the honorary degree of A. M. from Harvard in 1787. He was the first Master of Saco Lodge of Masons, 1802-1806, and again 1808-1810.

"A Muster Roll of the Company under the Command of Captain Jeremiah Hill in Colonel Scamman's Regiment to the first of August 1775."

			<i>Enlisted, all in 1775.</i>
Jeremiah Hill,	Capt.,	Biddeford,	} <i>Beating Orders.</i>
Samuel Merrill,	Lieut.,	Buxton,	
Peter Page,	Ensign,	Pepperrellboro,	} April 24, 1775
Wad Eddy,	Sergt.,	Buxton,	
John Treworgy,	"	Biddeford,	May 3,
			" 4,

COL. JAMES SCAMMAN'S 30TH REGIMENT OF FOOT. 389

Simeon Goodwin,	"	Pepperrellboro,	"	3,
Phineas Towle,	"	Buxton,	"	3,
John Elden,	Corp.,	"	"	3,
Daniel Townsend,	"	Littlefalls,	"	4,
Mathias Redlon,	"	Buxton,	"	3,
John Foss,	"	Pepperrellboro,	"	3,
Mathew Richardson	Fifer,	Woburn,	June	6,

Privates.

John Davis,	Biddeford,	May	5
John Cole,	Buxton,	"	3
Nathan Woodman,	"	"	3
Samuel Merrill,	"	"	3
Robert Brooks,	"	"	3
William Andros,	"	"	3
James Redlon,	"	"	3
Ezekiel Bragdon,	"	"	3
Samuel Woodsom,	"	"	3
John Sands,	"	"	3
Micah Whitney,	"	"	3
Jonathan Fields,	"	"	3
Levi Foss,	Pepperrellboro,	"	4
John Kennick,	"	"	4
Nicholas Davis,	Littlefalls,	"	4
Robert Williams,	Mast Camps,	"	5
Timothy Rolfe,	Biddeford,	"	5
Mathew Phillips,	Deer Warden,	"	5
Aaron Gray,	Biddeford,	"	5
David Crage,	"	"	5
Ebenezer Sawyer,	"	"	5
James McCormick,	"	"	5
James Uran,	"	"	5
John Lee,	Deranged (discharged)		
Joseph Goodwin,	Buxton,	"	3
Joseph Plaistard,	Pepperrellboro,	"	3
Jonathan Norton,	"	"	3
Robert Martin,	"	"	3
Robert Arnold,	"	"	3
John Carll,	"	"	3
Anthony Starbird,	"	"	3
Peltiah Ross,	"	"	3
Nehemiah Goodwin,	Buxton,	"	3
James Scamman Jr.,	Pepperrellboro,	"	3

Joseph Carll,	"	"	3	
Elijah Littlefield,	Biddeford,	"	5	
Simeon Tibbetts,	Pepperrellboro,	"	3	
Daniel Bradbury,	"	"	3	
Daniel Hill,	Biddeford,	July	13	
John Richardson,	Woburn,	June	25	
Daniel McNemarra,	Cambridge,	May	26	deserted June 12
Aaron Randall,	Pepperrellboro,	"	3	deserted May 30
Phillip Goldthwait,	"	"	3	entered in ye Train May 21
Edward Nason,	"	"	3	do.
Jesse Pene,	"	"	3	died Aug. 5th
John Roak,	Biddeford,	"	5	discharged June 21
Edward Cumpston,	Pepperrellboro,	"	3	
——— Langdon,	Cambridge,	June	3	"Langdon comes in Compston's room"

"All Errors excepted
Jeremiah Hill, Capt."

Original roll in Massachusetts Archives, Volume XV, page 28. Total, 60 men. Those from Biddeford were allowed 100 miles travel, Buxton 120, Pepperrellboro (Saco) 110, Little Falls 117 and Woburn 8. Col. Scamman supplied twelve of the men with guns and forty-four cartridge boxes were reported.

CAPT. JOSHUA BRAGDON'S COMPANY.

Capt. Joshua Bragdon, of Wells, went from York there before the Revolution. He was an enterprising man and a shipbuilder. He was on a committee at Wells who, on March 28, 1774, in relation to the crisis then impending, reported the following as their first resolution.

Resolved that freedom is essential to the happiness of a State, which no nation can give up without violating the laws of nature, reason and religion, ruining millions, and entailing the deepest misery on posterity.

Capt. Bragdon enlisted April 21, 1775, in the Lexington alarm, and served five days. On his return he raised a company for Scamman's regiment. He resigned August 19, 1775, and returned home. His commission was dated June 2, 1775. In 1778 he was chosen by the town of Wells "to prosecute traitors to the confederation." After the war he was a selectman several years, and, in 1785, was a representative to the General Court. The town's history says that he "was an efficient laborer in all war measures, was a man of courage and resolution" and that he was "a solid temperate man."

Joshua Bragdon made a will April 4, 1792, and said he had "apprehensions of approaching death." It was probated November 30, the same year. The children mentioned were Joshua Jr., his executor, Thomas, Daniel, Hepzibah, wife of Josiah Clark, and Hannah and Martha, then unmarried.

Lieut. Morgan Lewis, of Sanford, became captain of the company after the resignation of Capt. Bragdon. He served as selectman, 1774-1779, and was a major in the militia, beside his service in Col. Scamman's regiment.

Capt. Lewis' wife was named Sarah, and she died December 28, 1819, aged 79 years. He died November 17, 1784, aged 47 years, and they both were buried in the Alfred village cemetery. He was the first person buried there. In the inventory of his estate, which amounted to £838, 2s., 2d., were two cartridge boxes, 3 shillings, and a powder horn, 8 pence. Their children mentioned then were Jeremiah, the oldest

son and administrator, Daniel, the second son, Morgan, Jr., the "third son now living" in 1792, John, who died before 1792, Sarah, eldest daughter and wife of Jeremiah Trafton, Doras, wife of David Bean, Katherine, wife of Benjamin Trafton and the third daughter, with Patience, Abigail and Dolly.

"A muster Roll of the Company under the Command of Captain Joshua Bragdon."

Enlisted, all 1775.

Joshua Bragdon,	Capt.,	Wells,	April 21
Morgan Lewis,	Lieut.,	Sanford,	May 3
Moses Sweet,	Ensign,	"	" 3
Abraham Barends,	Sergt.,	Wells,	" 3
Enoch Hale,	"	Sanford,	" 3
William Patton,	"	Wells,	" 3
Jedidiah Pebody,	"	Sanford,	" 3
Simeon Hatch,	Corp.,	Wells,	" 3
Samuel Cluff,	"	Sanford,	" 3
Peter Cram,	"	Wells,	" 3
Ephriam Gile,	"	Sanford,	" 3
Joseph Thompson,	Drummer,	"	" 3
Josiah Harmon,	Fifer,	"	" 3

Privates.

John Adams,		Sanford,	" 3
Jonathan Adams,		"	" 3
William Banks,	(dis. Nov. 30)	"	" 3
Nathan Butland,		Wells,	" 3
William Boston,		"	" 3
Elijah Boston,		"	" 3
Daniel Boston,	(dis. Sept. 10)	Sanford,	July 2
Richard Blabon,		Wells,	" 2
John Clarke,		Sanford,	May 3
Isack Coffin,		"	" 3
John Emons,		"	" 3
Pendleton Emons,		Wells,	" 3
Nathaniel Edwards,		"	" 3
Steven Edwards,		"	" 3
Daniel Eastman,		Sanford,	" 3
James Ford,		Wells,	June 25

COL. JAMES SCAMMAN'S 30TH REGIMENT OF FOOT. 393

Samuel Harmon,		Sanford,	May 3
Teamo Hall,*	(dis. July 5)	Wells,	" 3
Joseph Hibbard,		Sanford,	" 3
Isac Jones,		"	" 3
Thomas Jepson,		Wells,	" 3
Saml Jelson,		Sanford,	" 3
Charles Jellson,		Berwick,	July 1
Abram Kimble,		Sanford,	May 3
Joseph Knight,		Berwick,	July 1
Jedediah Low,		Wells,	May 3
John Lord,		Sanford,	" 3
Thomas Neenly,		Wells,	" 3
Abra Pribel,		Sanford,	" 3
Moses Pettey,		"	July 1
William Powers,		"	" 1
Jeremiah Smith,		"	May 3
Jeremiah Steward,		Wells,	" 3
Masters Treadwell, (dis. Sept. 27),		"	" 3
Nathaniel Treadwell,		"	" 3
Samuel Whitehous,		"	" 3
Charles White,		Sanford,	" 3
George Whales,		"	" 3
Nathl Folsom York,		"	" 3
Paul Giles,		"	" 3
Daniel Giles,		"	" 3
Israel Smith,		"	" 3
Noah Merrill,		Wells,	" 3
Israel Hilbon,		Sanford,	" 3

Original roll in Massachusetts Archives, Volume XIV, page 9. Total, 57 men. Those from Wells were allowed 93 miles travel, and from Sanford 100 and 106. All had guns, all furnished by themselves but two, and 39 had cartridge boxes.

CAPT. PHILIP HUBBARD'S COMPANY.

Capt. Philip Hubbard lived in South Berwick and was born in 1718. He married in 1740, Hannah Plummer, by whom he had fourteen children, namely

* Perhaps James.

— Philip, Jr., Benjamin, Mrs. Elizabeth Neal, John, Mrs. Hannah Hodsdon, Mrs. Abigail Goodwin, Moses, Aaron, Mrs. Sarah Goodwin, Richard, Jonathan, Eben, Ichabod and Stephen. His home farm was that of his father and grandfather, and after him came his two sons, John and Ichabod. At least seven generations of his family have lived in that neighborhood.

Capt. Hubbard was the eldest son of Philip Hubbard and Elizabeth Roberts. His father died in 1723, and was supposed to have been killed by the Indians. His mother came from Dover, N. H., and she was the daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth Roberts. His paternal grandparents were Philip Hubert, as the name was then written, and Elizabeth Goodwin; she was a daughter of Daniel Goodwin, of Kittery. His grandfather Hubert was the emigrant to what has since become South Berwick, the locality is about a mile from what is now the Eliot line, and he was the son of Jean Hubert of the parish of St. Savior, in the Isle of Jersey. The family were Norman French.

Philip Hubert, the emigrant, was granted twenty acres of land in old Kittery, May 16, 1694, fifty acres May 24, 1694, and fifty acres May 10, 1703. The twenty acres were laid out to him January 10, 1710, at the "Beaver Dam" and the one hundred acres were laid out November 21, 1706 at "ye Great Lot, Nine Notches." The Hubbard loghouse was called "Hubbard's Garrison," and was standing as late as 1826, when it was taken down and a frame house built in the rear of the site of the garrison. The family burying ground, where Captain Hubbard was buried in

1792, at the age of seventy-four years, is in the field opposite where the old garrison stood. This was also the field of the emigrant, Philip Hubert, or Hubbard, which he bought of James Emery, January 25, 1697, for £120, and was described as forty acres, more or less, with buildings, fruit trees and all other appurtenances.

Capt. Philip Hubbard made his will November 13, 1787, in which he said "Being in sound health," etc., which was probated September 8, 1792. His sons, John and Ichabod, were the executors. He left an estate of £1031, 18s., 8d., in which were a gun and bayonet valued at 20 shillings, an old sword at 4 shillings, and a cartouch box 2 shillings. He owned land also in the town of Shapleigh. Thirteen children were named in his will, but evidently Philip, Jr., and Eben died before that date.

Capt. Hubbard was a prominent man in his town, serving as moderator and selectman, also on important committees. A marble monument has lately been erected at his grave, but the original split stone, with his initials cut upon it, was left as his most fitting memorial. His life work was such that his "memory is held in the greatest respect by all his descendants," as one of his posterity writes. Who can hope to do more?

Capt. Philip Hubbard was commissioned June 2, 1775, in Col. Scamman's regiment, and the commission is still in existence. Besides that service, he was the captain of a seacoast company at Kittery Point and York in 1776. When he joined Scamman's regiment

he was about fifty-seven years of age and no doubt had seen service in the French and Indian wars.

"Muster Roll of the Company under the command of Capt. Phillip Hubbard in Colo Scamman's Regiment to the first of August 1775."

<i>Enlisted, all 1775</i>			
			May 2
Phillip Hubbard,	Capt.,	Berwick,	" 2
Jedidiah Goodwin,	1st Lieut.,	"	" 2
James Roberts,	2d "	"	" 2
Simeon Lord,	Sergt.,	"	" 5
Joshua Nason,	"	"	" 5
Richard Plummer,	"	"	" 5
Tristram Fall,	"	"	" 20
Samuel Hubbard,	Corp.,	"	" 5
Freethy Spencer,	"	"	" 5
Samuel Worster,	"	"	" 5
Joseph Hubbard,	"	"	" 5
Samuel Stevens,	Drummer,	Lebanon,	" 20

Privates.

Moses Hubbard,	Berwick,	" 5
Aaron Goodwin,	"	" 5
Moses Spencer,	"	" 5
John Shorey,	"	" 5
Benjamin Row,	"	" 5
Daniel Lord,	"	" 5
Stephen Wood,	"	" 5
Daniel Hubbard,	"	" 5
Jeremiah Lord,	"	" 5
William Stone,	"	" 5
Daniel Grant,	"	" 5
James Wentworth,	Rochester,	" 5
Richard Pirkins,	Lebanon,	" 5
Benjamin Horsham,	Berwick,	" 5
Elisha James,	Lebanon,	" 5
William Davis,	Berwick,	" 5
Benjamin Goodwin,	"	" 5
James Grant,	"	" 8
Daniel Wadlin,	"	" 8
Bartholomew Nason,	"	" 8
Ichabod Smith,	"	" 8
Abel Getchell,	"	" 8

COL. JAMES SCAMMAN'S 30TH REGIMENT OF FOOT. 397

Walter Abbot,	Berwick,	May 8
Morrel Hobbs,	"	" 8
Benjamin Weymouth,	"	" 8
Theophilus Abbot,	"	" 8
Daniel Abbot,	"	" 8
Simeon Lord Junr.,	"	" 8
Aaron Hubbard,	"	" 8
Moses Couson,	Lebanon,	" 15
Dodifer Garland,	Rochester,	" 15
Jonathan Garland,	"	" 15
Nathaniel Blewet,	Berwick,	" 15
Daniel Hodsdon,	"	" 8
Moses How,	"	" 15
John Davis.	"	" 15
Ralph Farnum,	Lebanon,	" 15
Thomas Downs,	Berwick,	" 15
Landras Heast,	"	" 8
John Pugsley,	"	" 20
Francis Pierce,	"	" 20
James Smith,	"	" 20
Ichabod Downs,	"	" 20
John Cousens,	Lebanon,	" 20
Jonathan Burrows,	"	" 20
Paul Welch,	Berwick,	" 20
John Pierce,	"	" 20
Joseph Goodwin,	"	June 28
Gilbert Perkins,	Lebanon,	Aug. 12
Silas White,	"	July 11
Moses Lord,	Berwick,	" 20
Phillip Hubbard Jr.,	"	" 20

Original roll in Massachusetts Archives, Volume XV, page 33. Total, 64 men. All had guns, all but six supplied by themselves. Only 24 cartridge boxes returned in the company and no bayonets.

CAPT. JONATHAN NOWELL'S COMPANY.

Capt. Jonathan Nowell, of York was commissioned in Col. Scamman's regiment June 2, 1775, was a captain in Col. William Prescott's 7th Continental regiment

in 1776, that served through the siege of Boston and took part in the Long Island campaign. He became brigade major of the York county militia March 7, 1780. His wife was named Elizabeth, and he died Jan. 5, 1821, aged 74 years. He was a pensioner.

"A Muster Roll of the Company under the Command of Captain Jona Nowell in Colonel Scamman's Regiment to the first of August 1775."

			<i>Enlisted, all 1775</i>
Jonathan Nowell,	Capt.,	York,	May 2
Thomas Nowell,	Lieut.,	"	" 2
Edward Low,	Ensign,	"	" 2
Edward O'Brien,	Sergt.,	"	" 3
Job Winchell,	"	Berwick,	" 3
John Frost,	"	"	" 3
John Haley,	"	York,	" 3
Moses Weymouth,	Corp.,	Berwick,	" 3
William Tripe,	"	Sanford,	" 3
Francis Weymouth,	"	Berwick,	" 3
Aulden Warren,	"	"	" 3
Simeon Whitham,	Drummer,	York,	" 3
Roger Plaisted,	Fifer,	"	" 3

Privates.

Joseph Welch,	York,	" 3
Arthur Bragdon,	"	" 3
Nathaniel Brackett,	Georgetown,	" 3
Thomas Perkins,	York,	" 3
Amos Hasty,	"	" 3
Jotham Booker,	"	" 3
Thomas Welch,	"	" 3
Warren Bragdon,	"	" 4
Daniel Jacobs,	"	" 3
Lemuel Pierce,	"	" 3
William Nason,	"	" 3
Nathaniel Young,	"	" 4
Thomas Shepard Jenkins,	"	" 4
David Merry,	Berwick,	" 3
Aaron Abbott,	York,	" 3
Eliphalet Kingsbury,	Kittery,	" 3

COL. JAMES SCAMMAN'S 30TH REGIMENT OF FOOT. 399

Josiah Trafton,	York,	May 4
John Freeman,	"	" 4
William Murphy,	"	" 5
John McLucas,	Mount Desert,	" 5
Edward Clarke,	"	" 6
Curtis Pierce,	York,	" 4
John Perkins,	"	" 3
Edward Paskins,	"	" 3
John Tuttle,	Berwick,	" 4
James Randall,	"	" 3
—tham Ricker,	"	" 3
Caleb Ford,	"	" 3
Alexander Jillison,	"	" 3
Jonathan Thompson,	York,	" 3
Able Thompson,	"	" 3
Edward Moore,	"	June 10
Joseph Jones,	"	May 5
Ebenezer Gubtail,	Berwick,	" 4
Peter Nason,	York,	" 4
Jonathan Welch,	"	" 3
Pharaoh, Negro,	"	" 3

" Errors Excepted. Cambridge Jany 20th 1776."

Original roll in Massachusetts Archives, Volume XV, page 83. Total, 50 men. All had guns, but 34 furnished their own, and 19 had cartridge boxes. Shirts were charged the men 8s. 3d. each. Those from York were allowed 80 miles travel, from Berwick the same, excepting Caleb Ford, who was allowed two miles more. Those from Sanford 100 miles, Georgetown 150 and Mount Desert 230.

CAPT. JESSE DORMAN'S COMPANY.

Capt. Jesse Dorman, of Arundel, was the son of Jabez Dorman, who came from Boxford, Massachusetts, to Arundel, now Kennebunkport, about 1715. Capt. Dorman's wife was Eunice Averill, a daughter of Samuel and Ruth (Watson) Averill. Her father

was cast away on Mount Desert and drowned in 1747. Their eleven children were Josiah, Israel, Elizabeth, Daniel Towne, Abiel, Daniel Shackley, Stephen, Jedediah, Sarah, Jesse, Jr., and Thomas. Three of his sons served in the army. In 1793, a violent tornado unroofed his house, and he with his bed and bedding were blown several rods from the house. He died about the year 1800

Capt. Dorman was a lieutenant in Gen. Abercrombie's army at Lake George when Lord Howe was killed and the army met with a crushing defeat, in 1758. He was then in command of a company, and was struck in the breast by a musket ball, the force of which was checked by a silk handkerchief which he had placed inside of his vest for convenience in wiping his face. He enlisted in Col. Scamman's regiment May 3, 1775, and was commissioned June 2. His name appears among the soldiers at Louisberg, in 1745, with Sir William Pepperrell.

"A Muster Roll of ye Company under ye Command of Capt. Jesse Dorman in Collonell James Scammons Regiment To the First of August 1775."

<i>Enlisted, all 1775</i>			
Jesse Dorman,	Capt.,	Arundel,	May 3
Daniel Merrill,	Lieut.,	"	" 3
Jacob Curtis,	Ensign,	"	" 3
John Goowin,	Sergt.,	"	" 8
Abner Credeford,	"	"	" 12
Ezekiel Wakefield,	"	Wells,	" 12
Joseph Cluf,	"	Arundel,	" 8
Lemuel Miller,	Corp.,	"	" 8
Nathaniel Daviss,	"	"	" 12
Richard Thompson,	"	Wells,	" 8
Ephriam Wilde,	"	Arundel,	" 12
Moses Blaisdell,	Drummer,	Wells,	" 12
John Hubbard,	Fifer,	"	" 12

COL. JAMES SCAMMAN'S 30TH REGIMENT OF FOOT. 401

Privates.

Pierce Murphy,	Arundel,	May 8
Noah Cluf,	"	" 8
Harrison Downing,	"	" 8
John Woster,	"	" 8
Easman Huchings,	"	" 8
Nathaniel Lord,	"	" 8
Josiah Dorman,	"	" 3
John Watson,	"	" 8
Benjamin Lord,	"	" 8
Abell Merrill,	"	" 8
Asa Huchings,	"	" 8
Benjamin Rhodes,	"	" 8
Israel Murphy,	"	" 8
Mark Goodwin,	"	" 8
William Fellows,	Biddeford,	" 8
Benjamin Nason,	Arundel,	" 8
Joshua Nason,	"	" 8
Enoch Clough,	"	" 8
Forest Burnham,	"	" 8
Richard Michell,	"	" 8
Thomas Bickford,	"	" 8
Moses Stevens,	"	" 8
Seth Peobody,	Wells,	" 8
James Smith,	"	" 8
Francis Varney,	"	" 8
Edmond Littlefield,	"	" 8
Richard Shackley,	"	" 8
Simeon Huchins,	Arundel,	" 8
Edward Nason,	"	" 8
Andrew Stone,	"	" 8
Samuel Smith,	"	" 8
Jeremiah Bettess,	Biddeford,	" 8
Roger Smith,	"	" 12
Joel Jones,	Conetticut,	" 12
Abijah Woomwood,	Wells,	" 8
Moses Drown,	"	" 12
Stephen Webber,	"	" 12
Daniel Meader,	"	" 12
John Fisk,	"	" 12
Joseph Dennet,	"	" 12
Moses Norton,	"	" 12
Samuel Bickford,	Arundel,	" 12

Dudley Stone,	Arundel,	May 12
Alexander English,	"	" 12
Benjamin Miller,	"	" 3
Ephriam Dorman,	"	" 8
John Baxter Car,	"	" 8

Original roll [in Massachusetts Archives, Volume XIV, page 75. Total, 60 men. Those from Arundel were allowed 110 miles travel, Wells 108, and Biddeford 117. Fifty-five had guns and 7 bayonets which they furnished themselves, and 49 had cartridge boxes. Shoes were charged to the men at 6sh. 8d. and they had £2 advance wages.

The story of the regiments of the period of the rebellion against England in the Revolutionary war, gives us to-day a lesson in the indignation felt by our patriot forefathers against the mother country for her injustice to them as colonists. They felt the justice of their cause and believed, sooner or later, it must prevail. Trusting in Providence, they buckled on their armor, and with little money and but a quarter of a pound of powder to a man, they began what then appeared an unequal contest. Events forced them to declare their independence, and through many a long month and year, they struggled on and on, exhausting their resources more and more, passing through many periods of despair, until their heroic efforts were crowned with success. The records of nearly every town meeting show their solicitude for the approval of their posterity. No people have had more noble and unselfish ancestors than ourselves, so let us emulate their examples and make our country what they intended it to be, a paradise of freedom.

CAPT. JOHN WILSON AND SOME
MILITARY MATTERS IN MAINE
IN THE WAR OF 1812-15.

BY REV. HENRY S. BURRAGE, D. D.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, October 27, 1896.

THE war of 1812 was not regarded with favor by the people of Maine, especially in the seaport towns. They gave to the national government loyal support, however, and held themselves in readiness at all times to defend the more important points along the extended coast line of the state.

Some of the military papers of Capt. John Wilson of Topsham, who was stationed with his company at the mouth of the Kennebec on alarm occasions, during the years 1812-15, have been placed in my hands by his daughter, Mrs. A. W. Pendleton of Topsham ; and as these give us a glimpse of the military operations on the lower Kennebec at this period of our history, I have transcribed them, adding such additional facts as I have been able to gather.¹

¹ When the earliest fort on the present site of Fort Popham was erected is not now known. In the *Frontier Missionary*, by William S. Bartlett, page 283, it is stated: "An apology for a fort near the mouth of the river, armed with one cannon, which had been an alarm gun at Frankfort, was the only hindrance to a British fleet that might see fit to sail to the head of navigation." Mr. Bailey says that this fort was "a wooden blockhouse, with one gun, a four-pounder." Nor have I been able to learn, even from government officials, when the old fort at Hunnewell's Point, replaced by the present Fort Popham during the Civil war, was erected. That there was a fortification on this spot as early as 1809 is indicated in a letter written in March of that year by Capt. John Bering on taking command of old Fort Edgecomb, erected 1808-9, to guard the harbor of Wiscasset. In this letter, writing at Wiscasset, Capt. Bering said: "I have command at the mouth of the Kennebec River twenty-six miles west of Wiscasset, and on the Damariscotta, east twelve miles. I occasionally visit these forts." From a copy of this letter furnished by R. K. Sewall, Esq., of Wiscasset. This fort was known as "The Fort at Phippsburg."

Capt. John Wilson was a grandson of Thomas Wilson, who came from Ireland to Boston about the middle of the eighteenth century. He was about fifteen years of age when he reached New England. Evidently he came of good stock, and in making his way to our shores he brought with him a resolute purpose to make the most of himself. In some way his attention was directed toward the wilds of Maine, and in 1752 he made his way to Topsham, where, as a settler, he took up a large tract of land, on the banks of the Androscoggin. When the Indian War opened he returned to Boston. After the restoration of peace, however, he again made his way to his home in Maine, and here he continued to reside until his death.

Thomas Wilson married Ann Cochrane of Londonderry, N. H., a town settled by Scotch Presbyterians from the northern part of Ireland. Their children were as follows:—

I. William, born in Boston in 1741. He married in 1769, Mary, daughter of Robert Patten, of Arundel, afterward Kennebunk, and died in Topsham, April 15, 1826, aged eighty-four years. The children of William and Mary Wilson were: first, Robert (married first Margaret Owen, second Mary Preble); second, Lettice (married David Owen of Wayne); third, Actor; fourth, Ann (married Actor Patten, mother of John S. Patten); fifth, Thomas (unmarried, lived in Bowdoinham); sixth, Isaac, of Strong; seventh, Mary (married Josiah Sandford, selectman of Topsham); eighth, Rachel (married Joel Thompson of Lisbon); ninth,

Adam, a graduate of Bowdoin College, class of 1819, and founder and first editor of *Zion's Advocate*.

II. James, born in 1744. His wife was Ann, a daughter of James Henry of Providence, R. I., who removed to Harpswell and thence to Topsham. James Wilson built the Wilson homestead, still standing in Topsham, selecting himself every stick of timber in it. From the land which he received from his father he gave the land for the county buildings in Topsham, then the shire town of Lincoln County. "I well remember the court-house," writes Mrs. Pendleton, "and the ringing of the court-house bell when the court was in session in the busy, bustling court week." The lot given to the county was one of the finest in the village. James Wilson was one of the selectmen of Topsham from 1782 to 1788, inclusive, and again in 1798. He died in Topsham in June, 1803, and his widow March 3, 1840. Their children were: first, Henry, born September 25, 1775. He was a merchant in Topsham and died unmarried in 1813; second, Thomas, born January 14, 1778. He was engaged in mill operations and died unmarried in 1810; third, John, who commanded the force at the mouth of the Kennebec in the war of 1812. He was born April 8, 1780, and married in 1818, Eunice, daughter of Alexander Thompson of Topsham, a Revolutionary soldier. He died February 6, 1832. Mrs. Eunice Wilson, widow of Gen. Wilson, died in Topsham in December, 1878, aged ninety years and nine months. Fourth, Hannah, born January 6, 1783; fifth, Charles, born

December 15, 1785, and died unmarried July 8, 1812, while a member of the junior class in Bowdoin College. "He was a young man of promising abilities, amiable manners and correct habits." Sixth, James, born July 30, 1789, and died in Topsham, October 17, 1880, in the ninety-second year of his age.

III. Thomas. He went to sea and never was heard from. He was unmarried.

IV. Lettice, who married — Martin of Brunswick, and died about a fortnight after marriage.

V. Margaret, who married first John Hunter and second Alexander Rogers, father of George R.

VI. Mary, who married June 18, 1776, John Sandford.

VII. Elizabeth, who married November, 1772, William Porterfield.

John Wilson, the third son of James Wilson, spent his youth on his father's farm, assisting his father in the care of the farm, and attending the village school. In the division of his father's property he received a farm about two miles from Topsham village, and he not only busied himself with the care of his farm, but he was engaged also in lumbering occupations. The farm was on the Androscoggin River road to Lisbon. On this farm, on a pleasant site, he erected a two-story dwelling house, now owned by Henry Harley. He left two children, Ann H. and Theodosia W. Ann H. married Rev. A. B. Pendleton, a Baptist clergyman. Theodosia W. was a teacher of public and private schools in Topsham and Brunswick about

thirty-four years. In the History of Brunswick, Topsham and Harpswell it is said of her: "She was well known in the community as a successful and experienced teacher, as well as an accomplished and estimable lady." Mr. Wilson was highly esteemed by all classes of people. He was six feet or more in height, and his personal appearance was commanding. He had military inclinations from his early years. In 1809 he was sergeant of a company of artillery in the Third Regiment, First Brigade, Eleventh Division of the Militia of Massachusetts. Daniel S. Wilder was at that time captain of the company. He was succeeded December 18, 1809, by John Wilson, whose commission signed by Gov. Gore of Massachusetts and William Tudor, secretary of the commonwealth, bore date February 2, 1810.

At the beginning of the war of 1812, in order that the Maine troops might be ready for any emergency, orders were issued, and the following were found among Capt. Wilson's papers:—

DIVISION ORDERS.

BATH April 30, 1812.

The orders of the Commander in Chief under date of the 25th instant directing a detachment from the Division of six hundred & ten men including officers are now handed down. The Major General expects the most prompt attention to this order & requests the Brigadier Generals in their returns to state particularly the day that the Commanders of the different Regiments make their returns as it will be noticed hereafter in further Division orders. Lt. Col. Charles Thomas will command the regiment detached from this Division. Lt. Col. Denny McCobb at present commanding the first

Brigade of this Division will detail one major & apportion the company officers & detach two hundred fourteen men from the Infantry—officers including men from the Cavalry & twenty-one from the Artillery—including officers. Brigadier General Payson will detail one major apportion the Company officers, & detach three hundred & thirty six men from the Infantry including officers twenty from the cavalry & ten from the artillery including officers.

The commanding officers of Brigades, Regiments, & Battalions will give orders for filling up all vacancies that now do or may exist in the respective Brigades, Regiments & Battalions the present year.

The several Regiments composing the first Brigade will be paraded the present year either in Regiments or Battalions of Regiments, Regard being had to the scattering situation of the Troops for inspection & discipline at such times in the month of September or October as the Commanding officer of the Brigade shall determine of which he will give seasonable directions embracing the cavalry and artillery. The several Regiments comprising Gen. Payson's Brigade will assemble the present year within the month of September for Review, Inspection & discipline at such times as the Brigadier General shall order, who will give seasonable directions embracing the Cavalry and Artillery within the Brigade. By order of Maj. General King, commanding the 11th Division. Joseph F. Wingate, aide de camp orderly officer of 11th Division.

BRIGADE ORDERS.

.April 30th 1812.

The commanding officers of the several Regiments & Battalions in the first Brigade, 11 Division, will use the most speedy & effectual means to carry into effect the foregoing Division Orders for detaching two hundred and fourteen men officers including the Infantry, nine men from the Cavalry, 21 men from the Artillery officers included, agreeable to the schedule hereunto annexed, to be formed into three companys of Infantry (the Cavalry & Artillery will remain a minor corps) They are to be organized and equipped agreeable to the present Militia Law, and held in readiness to assemble & march at a moments Warning, conformable to the General Orders

of the 25th instant herewith transmitted. Major Andrew Reed is detailed to command the aforesaid Battalion when formed.

Schedule of Officers, non commissioned officers, musicians & men to be detached from the first Brigade, 11 Division agreeable to Division orders.

Com. Officers of Regt & Battal.	Capt.	Lt.	Ensn.	Comd. Staff Officers.	Non- Comd Staff Off'rs.	Sergt.	Mus.	Rank & File.	Total.
D. McCobb...	1	1	1	1 Qr. Mast. 1 Chapl...	.....	4	2	49	61
Chas. Thomas	1	1	1	1 Sergt.... 1 Adjt.....	.....	4	2	60	70
Abel Merrill..	1	1	1	.....	1 Qr. M. Sergt....	.....	.....	71	81
Sam'l Sevy....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	2	2	16	21
Benj. Ames...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	8	9
									242
One Col., one Major as above.....									2
									244

The Adjutants will use due exertions to collect lists of the detachments of their Respective Regiments & Battalions & transmit them in an orderly manner to the commanding Officer of the Brigade.

DENNY MCCOBB, Sen. Officer

1 Brigade 11th Division

REGIMENTAL ORDERS.

TOPSHAM May 1, 1812.

The commanding officers of the several companies in the third Regiment first Brigade & Eleventh Division will detach eighty-one men officers included agreeable to the schedule hereunto annexed to be armed and equipt agreeable to the present Militia Law & held in readiness to assemble and march at a moment's warning Conformable to General Orders of the 25th of April last Division and Brigade orders of the 30th of April last past herewith transmitted. The commanding officers of the several Companies in the third Regiment will use the most speedy & effectual means to carry into effect the above order without delay.

Schedule of Officers Non-Commissioned Officers, Musicians & Men to be detached from the third Regiment first Brigade 11th Division

Names of Officers commanding Companies.	Capt.	Lt.	Ens'n.	Serjt.	Musicians.	Rank & File.	Total.
Stephen Whitmore	1	.....	.....	1	.....	9	11
Joseph C. Colley.....						6	6
James Fulton, Jr.				1	.....	7	8
John Willson, Jr ⁽¹⁾				1	.....	8	9
Peter Whitney.....						5	5
Lt. Thomas Hewey.....					1 Drm.	7	8
Nath'l McLellan.....				1	.....	8	9
Lieut. Henry Snow.....		1	.....	.....	1 fife.	7	9
Ensign Elijah Hatch.....			1	.....	.....	9	10
Thomas Sandford.....						5	5
	1	1	1	4	2	71	80

One Quartermaster Sergeant..... 1

81

Abel Merrill, Lt. Col. Com'd. 3 Regt., 1st Brig. 11 Division.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS.

TOPSHAM May 12, 1812

Captain John Wilson, commanding officer of a company of militia in Topsham, will notify and warn said company to meet & assemble at the Court-house in Topsham on Thursday the 28th day of May instant at one of the clock in the afternoon then & there to elect one ensign for the aforesaid company, at which election Captain Wilson will preside & make return thereof.

ABEL MERRILL, Lt. Colo. Comma^d 3^d Regt.
1st Brig^d 11th Division.

BRIGADE ORDERS 1ST BRIGADE 11 DIVISION.

BATH July 30, 1812

In obedience to Division Orders of the 30th of April last ordering the Regiments and Battalions of Regiments in this Brigade to assemble in Regiments or Battalions of Regiments for Inspection & Discipline the present year at such times in the months of September or October as the Commanding officer of the Brigade may appoint

¹ The Jr. was doubtless added to his name in order to distinguish him from another John Wilson in the town. He himself used the designation.

the Brigadier General orders that Col Charles Thomas assemble the Regiment under his command on Monday the 28th of September next at 9 o'clock A. M. for Inspection & Discipline Col Abel Mer [rill or]¹ ill assemble the Regiment under his com[mand] on Tuesday the 29th of September next at [] k] A. M. if in Regiment or on the 29th & [30th as many of the [] Battalions of Regiments as he may [deem] expedient for Inspection & Discipline. [] Andrew Reed now commanding the first Regiment will assemble the Regiment on Mond[ay the] 5th of October next at 9 o'clock, A. M. if in [Regim]net[ent] or on the 5th & 6th if in Battalions of Regiments as he may think expedient for Inspection & Discipline. Major Benj^a Ames will assemble the Battalion of Cavalry under his command on Wednesday the 7th of October next at 9 o'clock A. M. for Inspection & Discipline. Col. Samuel Sevey will assemble the Battalion of Artillery under his command on Thursday the 8th of October next at 9 o'clock A. M. for Inspection, Discipline, & experimental Gunnery. The Commanding officers of Regiments & Battalions will give seasonable notice to the Brigade Major of the time & place of their assembling their respective Regiments & Battalions who will inspect them it is expected with strict scrutiny & it is expected that every officer & soldier will punctually attend completely armed and equipped. At the present momentous crisis the Brigadier General earnestly recommends to the officers of his Brigade a close attention to the discipline of their respective commands, that the provisions and instructions of the Militia Law be strictly attended to & carried into effect.

Major Eben Clap has been appointed & commissioned Brigade Major & Inspector of the First Br[igade 11th] Div of which all officers [&] Soldiers will [take noti]ce & govern themselves accordingly. The Colonels & [comma]nding Officers of Regiments & Battalions [in the first] Brigade 11 Division will fart[her take notice [] Brigadier General will in full transmit a [] & make all communications [] them throug[h the] medium of his Brigade Major [and] recommend [the]m to make their commu-

¹ Where the manuscript is defaced I have endeavored to supply the deficiency
—H. S. B.

nications to him through the hands of their adjutants or orderly officers to the Brigade Major.

By order of Brigadier General McCobb
 Commanding 1 Brigade 11 Division
 EBEN CLAP Brigade Major.

A Copy

Attest Chas Thompson Adjutant 3 R, 1 B, 11 Div.

DIVISION ORDERS.

HEAD QUARTERS BATH April 14, 1813.

The Commanding officers of Brigades, Regiments, and Battalions will give orders for filling up all vacancies that do now or that may hereafter exist in their respective Brigades, Regiments and Battalions the present year.

The Major Genl expects the Brigade inspectors to do their duty and that the soldiers of this division having arms, ammunition and accoutrements as the Law directs will be reported accordingly.

The several Regiments composing Genl McCobb's Brigade will be assembled the present year within the month of September for review, inspection and Discipline at such time as the commanding officer shall order, who will give seasonable direction embracing the Cavalry and artillery within the Brigade.

The Brigade commanded by Gen. Payson will be assembled the present year either in Regiments and Battalion of Regiments regard being had to the local situation of the Troops at such times in the month of September as the Brigadier Genl shall direct of which he will give seasonable notice embracing the Cavalry and Artillery. The Major Genl in concluding cannot refrain from observing that the extent of the maritime frontier of the Division is such & such is the situation of our Enemy on the ocean that every soldier should be prepared to do his duty and that the least neglect or inattention on the part of any officer will be particularly noticed in after orders.

By order of Major Gen. King

JOSEPH F. WINGATE—aide de camp & orderly officer of 11 Division.

BRIGADE ORDERS 1st BRIG 11th DIVISION.BATH August 14th 1813

The Command of this Brigade devolving on the Colonel of the 2^d Reg^t in the absence of the Brigadier General he being the Officer next in grade & in commission. The Officers therefore & all those under their respective Commands in the several Reg^t and Battalions within the Brigade will take notice thereof and govern themselves accordingly Agreeable to the Division Order of the 14th of April last directing the several Regiments composing the 1st Brigade embracing the Cavalry & Artillery within the month of Sept^r for Review Inspection & Discipline. The Colonel of the 2^d Reg^t at present commanding the Brigade Orders That Col Abel Merrill assemble the 3^d Reg^t under his command on Tuesday the 14th day of Sept^r next at 9 O'clock A. M. for Inspection Review & Discipline & that he give immediate notice of the place of parade to Major Ames commanding the Battalion of Cavalry who will order out Cap^t Sam^l Jack Company of Cavalry to parade with said Regiment Also give immediate notice of the place of parade to Cap^t Alden at present commanding the Battalion of Artillery who will order out Lieu Walkers Company of Artillery to parade also with said Regiment That Major Phinley Crawford assemble the 2^d Reg^t at present under his command on Wednesday the 15th day of Sept^r next at 9 O'clock A. M. for Inspection Review & Discipline and that he give immediate notice of the place of parade to Major Ames commanding the Battalion of Cavalry who will order out Cap^t Boyntons Company of Cavalry to parade with said Reg^t Also give immediate notice of the place of parade to Cap^t Alden at present commanding the Battalion of Artillery who will order out Lieu^t Eastman's Company of Artillery to parade with said Reg^t That Col. Andrew Reed assemble the 1st Reg^t under his command on Thursday the 16th day of Sept^r next at 9 O'clock A. M. for Inspection Review and Discipline And that he give immediate notice of the place of parade to Cap^t Aldin commanding the Battalion of Artillery who will order out Cap^t Nath^l Spragues Company of Artillery to parade with said Reg^t. That Major Benj^a Ames Commanding the Battalion of Cavalry give the necessary Orders to Cap^t Sam^l Jack that he assemble the Company of Cavalry under his Command on Tuesday, the 14th

day of Sep^t next at 7 O'clock A. M. with the 3^d Reg^t the Commander there of giving seasonable notice of the place of parade And also to Cap^t Abel Boynton that he assemble the Company of Cavalry under his command on Wednesday the 15th day of Sep^t next at 9 O'clock A. M. with the 2^d Reg^t the Commanding Officer there of giving seasonable notice of the place of parade. That Peter O. Alden commanding the Battalion of Artillery give the necessary orders to Lieut Walker that he assemble the Company of Artillery under his command on Tuesday the 14th day of Sep^t next at 9 O'clock A. M. with the 3^d Reg^t the Commanding Officer there of giving seasonable notice of the place of parade Also to Lieut Eastman that he assemble the Company of Artillery under his command on Wednesday the 15th day of Sep^t next at 9 O'clock A. M. with the 2^d Reg^t the Commander there of giving seasonable notice of the place of parade And also to Cap^t Nath^l Sprague that he assemble the Company of Artillery under his command on Thursday the 16th day of Sep^t next at 9 O'clock A. M. with the first Regiment the commanding Officer there of giving seasonable notice of the place of parade The Commandiers of the several Regiments will give at least sevendays notice to the Brigade Major of the places of their respective Parades that he may attend and inspect them & the Brigade Major will give seasonable notice of the time & places of Parade of the several Regiments to the Major General that he may be present and Review them.

By Order of Col Charles Thomas at present
commanding 1st Brigade 11th Division

EBEN CLAP { Brig Major
& Inspector

Copy Attest

Charles Thompson Adjutant

BRIGADE ORDERS.

BATH, April 20th 1813

The Commanding officers of the several Regiments and Battalions 1 Br. 11 Division will see that the Genl Orders of 24 March 1813 & the Division order of 14 of April inst herewith transmitted are carried into effect without delay.

By order of the Brigadier Genl of 1 Br. 11 Divs.

E. CLAP, Br. Major.

Pay Roll of a Detachment of Infantry Commanded by Calvin Crocker, Lieut. in the 34 Regiment of Infantry of the
United States for the Months of September and October, 1813.

No.	Name.	Rank.	Dates of Appointment or Enlistment.	Commencement of Service or of this Settlement.	Expiration of Service or of this Settlement.	Terms of Service Months.	Days.	Pay per Month.	Amount of Pay. Dolls Cents.
1	Calvin Crocker.....	Lieutenant...	April 21, 1813....	September 1, 1813.	October 31, 1813.	2	.....	\$35	\$50
2	Elias Morse.....	Ensign.....	" "	" "	" "	"	.....	20	40
1	John Place.....	Privates.....	February 2, 1810.	" "	" "	"	.....	8	16
2	Thaddeus Willson....	"	" 18, 1813.	" "	" "	"	.....	"	16
3	Ezekiel Webber.....	"	April 20, "	" "	" "	"	.....	"	16
4	George Johnson.....	"	" 27, "	" "	" "	"	.....	"	16
5	Joseph B. Shaw.....	"	" 20, "	" "	" "	"	.....	"	16
6	Nathaniel Morton.....	"	" " "	" "	" "	"	.....	"	16
7	Thomas Vearle. ....	"	" " "	" "	" "	"	.....	"	16

Roll torn here.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS.

TOPSHAM April 23 1813.

The Commanding officers of the several companies within the third Regiment will see that the Division orders of April 14 inst herewith transmitted are carried into effect immediately.

ABEL MERRILL

Lt. Colo. Comdg 3 R, 1 B, 11 Divis.

DIVISION ORDERS ELEVENTH DIVISION.

BATH, May 16, 1814.

The Commanding officers of Brigade, Regiments & Battalions will give orders for filling all vacancies that now or may hereafter exist the present year within their respective Brigades, Regts & Battalions. The several regiments composing Gen. Payson's Brigade will be assembled the present year within the month of September for review, inspection & discipline at such times as the Brigadier General shall order who will give orders accordingly embracing the Cavalry & artillery within the Brigade.

The Brigade commanded by Genl McCobb will be paraded the present year either in Regiments or Battalions of Regiments at such times in the month of September as the Brig. General shall determine who will give orders embracing the cavalry & artillery of the Brigade. The present situation of the Batteries erected for the defence of our ports & harbors within the limits of this Division must be well-known to the officers generally. Such works without munitions of war—officers to command & men to execute must be considered useless. To defend therefore this position of our maritime frontiers from invasion must be the business of the soldiers of this Division. In case of either a threatened or actual invasion the officer first receiving information will govern himself by the orders of the commander in chief under date of July 3, 1812, & will give immediate information to the Major General of such means as may have been adopted. That no soldier of this Division may be ignorant of a duty which in the course of the present year he may have to perform, the Major General orders the 24th Section of the Militia Laws to be read to every company of this Division. A particular report is expected from the captains of such companies as may be

assembled to oppose either a threatened or actual invasion of the names of all the soldiers borne on these rolls, naming such as were absent and their decision in all such cases.

By order of Major Genl King
 JOS. F. WINGATE A. D. C. &
 orderly officer of the 11th Division.

BRIGADE ORDERS 1 BRIG. 11TH DIVISION.

BATH May 17, 1814.

Agreeable to the Division Orders of the 16th of May inst the Commanding officers of the several regiments & Battalions comprising this Brigade including the Cavalry and artillery within the same will give the necessary orders for carrying 2d Division orders into effect excepting so far as as sd orders relate to mustering Regiments & Battalions for review inspection & discipline in the month of September next which will be the subject of a future Brigade order. The commanding officers of Regiments & Battalions of this Brigade will cause complete rosters of their respective commands to be made to the Brigade on or before the 20 of June next without fail and will not fail to see that the returns of their respective commands are made by the time required by Law as every neglect will be made the subject of inquiry.

By order of Brigadier Genl McCobb
 Commanding 1st Brig. 11 Division.
 EBEN CLAP, Brig. Major of 2d Brigade
 REGIMENTAL ORDERS.
 3d Regt. 1st Brig. 11. Division.
 May 20, 1814.

The several officers having command of companies within the sd Regiment will see that the Division order of May 16, also Brigade order of May 17, inst are carried into effect without delay.

ABEL MERRILL,
 Lieut. Col. Com. 3d Regt. 1 Brig. 11 Div.

The foregoing are copies of Div. orders of May 16. Brig of May 17, & Regt of May 20

ALBERT CHARLES THOMPSON Adjutant.

June 20, 1814, the British frigate *Bulwark*, 74 guns, anchored off Seguin, and sent some of her boats up the Sheepscot. The country was alarmed. Maj. Gen. King, at Bath, received an early notice of the approach of the enemy. The alarm spread through the surrounding country.

Some of the citizens of Bath met at the Lincoln Bank in that place on the twenty-fourth of June, and deeming the situation still serious, petitioned Gen. King to detach one hundred militia for the defense of the place. He accordingly issued the following order:—

REGIMENTAL ORDERS 3D REG. 1 BR. 11 DIVISION.

DIVISION ORDERS 11 DIVISION.

HEADQUARTERS BATH June 24th 1814.

Brigadier General McCobb will detach from his Brigade one Company of Infantry for the defence of the town of Bath and the vicinity and station at such place or places as he may think best to be continued in service until the pleasure of the Commander in Chief is known.

By command Jos. F. WINGATE
A. D. C.

BRIGADE ORDER 1ST BR. 11 DIVISION.

BATH June 24, 1814.

In obedience to the foregoing Division Orders, Col. Charles Thomas will detach immediately one Captain, two Sargt. two Corporals, and one Drummer & twenty-six Privates. Col. Abel Merrill will also immediately detach one Lieutenant one Ensign two Sargents two Corporals, one fifer & thirty eight Privates all to be immediately armed & equipped for active service & to report themselves on Monday, the 27th day of June instant by 12 o'clock in the forenoon without fail. The necessary requisitions for subsistence & transportation of Baggage for the troops detached must be made on the

selectmen of the several Towns from whence the Troops are detached. By Command

EBENEZER CLAP Brigd. Major.

TOPSHAM, June 24, 1814.

Agreeable to the within Div & Brigd orders Lieut Alonzo (?) Purinton & Ensign Jesse Richardson are detached to do duty in the Company therein mentioned.

The Commanding officers of the Several Companies in Said Regt will forthwith detach forty three non-commissioned officers, musicians and men included viz.

Capt. John Wilson will detach four privates from his Company.

Capt. Nath McLellan will detach 5 Privates from his Company.

Capt. Peter Whitney will detach 2 Privates from his Company.

Capt. Samuel True will detach 3 privates & one Corporal from his Company.

Capt. David Haynes will detach two Privates from his Company.

Capt. H. Hatch will detach three Privates & one Corporal from his Company.

Lieut. George H. Patten will Detach two Privates & one fifer from his Company.

Lieut. Hugh Gatchell will detach four Privates from his Company.

Lieut. Humphrey Purinton will detach three Privates and one Corporal from his Company.

Sergt. Chapman Jennings will detach three privates from his Company.

Capt. Charles Rogers will Detach two Privates from his Company, all to be armed, equipped & Provisioned according to the present militia Law for active service and report themselves to the Lieut. Col. at the Court House in Topsham on Monday the 27th inst by seven of the clock in the forenoon & from thence to the Brig. Genl at Bath by 12 of the o'clock on said day.

By order of Abel Merrill, Lieut. Col. Comdg

CHARLES THOMPSON Adjutant

Capt. John Wilson seems to have been put in command of this detachment. The records in the Record

Office at Washington show that Capt. Wilson, of Merrill's Third Massachusetts Militia was in service three days during the month of June, 1814.

In July following it seems to have been regarded as necessary again to call out a part of the militia force for active service.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS 2D REGT. 1 BRIG. 11 DIVISION.

TOPSHAM, July 26, 1814.

Pursuant to General orders of the 18th inst. Divis. & Brigd orders of the 25th inst, the commanding officers of the several companies in the 3d Regt. are directed to detach immediately the number of Sergeants, Musicians, Corporals and privates as are specified and named in the annexed schedule and to assemble at the Court House in Topsham on Monday the first day of August next at six of the clock in the forenoon completely armed and equipped as the Law directs. Hereof fail not and make return of the same to me immediately after the services are performed.

ABEL MERRILL, Lieut. Col. Comd

3d R. 1. Br. 11 Div.

CHARLES THOMPSON Adjt.

Schedule of Sergts. Mus. Cor. & pri. to be detached from the 3d Reg. 1 Br. 11 Div. viz.

Names of Comd. Officer of Compy.	Serg-eant.	Drum-mer.	fifer.	Corpo-ral.	Pri-vates.	Total.
Capt. Jno. Wilson Co.....	1	1	0	0	0	2
Peter Whitney Co.....	0	0	1	0	1	2
Nath'l McLellan Co.....	0	0	0	1	3	4
Samuel True Co.....	0	0	0	0	4	4
Eben Hatch Co.....	0	0	0	0	3	3
David Haynes Co.....	0	0	0	0	2	2
Geo. F. Patten Co.....	1	0	0	0	1	2
Hugh Gatchell Co.....	0	0	0	0	3	3
Lieut. Humphrey Purinton Co..	0	0	0	0	3	3
Capt. John White Co.....	0	0	0	1	1	2
Ens. Abel Curtis Co.....	0	0	0	0	5	5
	2	1	1	2	26	32

CHARLES THOMPSON, Adjutant.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS 8D REG. 1ST BRIG. 11. DIVISION.

TOPSHAM July 26, 1814.

Captain John Wilson is detached from the Regiment agreeable to Division & Brigade orders of the 25 instant and will appear at the Court House in Topsham on Monday, the first day of August next at six of the clock in the forenoon.

ABEL MERRILL, Lieut. Col. Comd. 3 Regt.

1 Brig. 11 Div.

Charles Thompson Adjutant of said Regiment.

Papers in the Record Office at Washington show that Captain Wilson of Topsham was in command of a detachment of infantry and artillery (militia) from August 1 to November 3, 1814, "at the fort at the mouth of the river," or "at the fort at Phippsburgh," as it was sometimes called.

The following roll is from the records on file in the office of the Adjutant General, State House, Augusta.

	<i>John Wilson,</i>	Capt., Topsham
	<i>Moses M. Marsh,</i>	Lieut.
<i>Sergeants</i>	<i>Corporals</i>	<i>Musicians</i>
Samuel S. Cumming	Matthew Hinkley	
Benjamin Owen	Dean Kimball	John Dearborn
Joseph Jack	John McManus Jr.	
Benj'n Thompson	Davis Hanniford	
Hugh Rogers	Isaac Hopkins	
	<i>Privates</i>	
Adams Daniel	Hinkley John	Rollins Joseph
Beal Ebenezer	Hinkley Samuel W.	Rollins Joseph
Bassett Lewis	Hinkley Edmund	Ridley Mark
Brown Matthew	Haley James	Rackliff Henry
Coombs Thomas	Hodgkins Sam'l B.	Stanwood James
Coombs Joseph	Hanniford William	Stinson Samuel
Coombs Asa Jr.	Jordan Benjamin	Smith Benjamin

Dunlap Martin	Kilgore William	Smith Jeremiah
Danforth Isaac	Kilpatrick Joseph	Sanborn Bradbury
Eaton Abel	Lane William	Spinney Ephraim
Foster John	Maxwell Thomas	Toothaker Gideon
Frasure James	McDaniel Major	Weymouth Archibald
Gammin Samuel	Morrison Nath'l	Wilson James
Gatchell John	Mitchell Ammi	Huff Samuel
Gowell Charles	McIntosh Nathan	Oliver John
Gardiner John	Oliver James	Dunlap Isaac
Hall William	Osgood Hazon	
Halet Ivory	Pettingill Sumner	
Harwood Otis	Fay Edmund	

EXTRACT OF DISTRICT ORDERS.

The commanding officer at the U States Fort¹ at Phippsburgh will be held accountable for the proper use of all the Ammunition & ordnance stores in his Garrison and to prevent waste he will deliver out not more than ten rounds of cartridges to a man unless particular circumstance require it such as the immediate approach of an enemy & will hold these men accountable for all cartridges unnecessarily expended and all damages not occasioned by unavoidable accidents.

JAMES PERRY

Capt 40 Inf.

John Wilson Jr. Capt
Comd Fort at Georgetown.

The following papers belong to this period : —

BATH Aug. 3, 1814

To Capt. John Wilson, Jr.

Reed Welch having been detached from the Artillery of this Brigade & Asa Coombs Jr. appearing as a substitute in his place has been inspected & the sd Coombs is ordered to join the Artillery now under your command & to report himself to you without delay.

E. CLAP, Brig Major
1st Brig. 11 Division.

¹ This shows that the fort at the mouth of the Kennebec occupied by Capt. Wilson, was the property of the United States.

BATH Aug. 4, 1814

To Capt. John Wilson, Jr.

Eliphalet Osgood being detached from the Battalion of Artillery of the 1st Brig 11 Div. to complete the detachment ordered by the Division & Brigade orders of the 25 ultimo & having procured Nathan McIntosh as a substitute who has been inspected & is ordered to report himself to you for orders without delay.

E CLAP Brig. Major 1st Br. 11 Div.

A "morning report of Capt. John Wilson's Company in the U. S. Servis, Phipsburgh Fort, August 8, 1814," signed by Orderly Sergeant S. S. Cummings, gives the strength of the infantry as one officer and thirty-three men, and of the artillery as one officer and thirty-one men. The morning report of August 21, 1814, is signed by Benjamin Thompson, O. Sergeant.

U. S. FORT EDGECOMB, Aug. 24, 1814.

Sir: The troop in the Garrison under your command will be mustered and inspected on the last day of this present month, and it is expected that they will appear clean and in a soldier like manner, their guns and Equipments in complete order. You will please have your muster rolls filled up in due form in Alphabetical order.

CAPT. JOHN WILSON,

Comg

JAMES PERRY,

Capt. 40th Infy Comg

September 10, 1814, Gen. King returned from the east with information that the British had left Castine with seven ships, and were proceeding westward. He ordered out the brigade for duty in the defense of Bath and the approaches of the Kennebec.

The following is copied from the records on file in the office of the Adjutant General at Augusta.

Roll of Captain *John Wilson's* Company of Militia in Lieut. Col. Abel Merrill's Regiment raised in Topsham and in service at Bath 20th to 22nd June and 10th to 28th September 1814.

September service was under Lieut. Nath'l Sandford.

<i>Nathaniel Sandford,</i>	Lieut., Topsham
<i>Samuel Veazie,</i>	Ensign, Topsham

Sergeants

Thomas Wilson
Hugh Patton
Daniel Tucker

Privates.

Akley William	Haley John	Patten William
Baron Charles	Haley Peletiah	Perkins Levi
Bunker Nathan	Hinkley Samuel	Roberts Mark
Cole James	Higgins Jeremiah	Thompson Samuel
Doughty Elijah	Hewey Johnathan	Farr Clark
Dunlap John	Hamblin Samuel	Varney Enoch
Eaton Charles	Jameson John	Whitten Joseph
Fall Stephen	Lord John	White Elijah
Ferrin William	Libby Nathan	Wilson James
Ferrin John	Marrs John 2	Wilson Humphrey
Ferrin Ebon 2	Melcher Abner	Wilson John H.
Fuller Constant	Metcalf Benjamin	Wood Samuel
Gray Solomon	Pennell Joshua	Work William

Military District No 1.

Head Quarters Boston, 28 Sept. 1814.

DISTRICT ORDERS.

Colonel Denny McCobb of the 45 Reg. of Infy will take command of all the troops in the service of the United States at Wiscasset and its dependencies including all of Capt. Perry's command and Eastwardly, until further orders. One thousand and eight hundred Militia from the District of Maine are to be detached for the service of the United States, and placed under his command, which he [will] organize, muster and inspect agreeably to the regulations

from the War Department, and forward his muster rolls and inspection returns, to the inspector Gen'l office, District No. 1, Boston. He will consult Maj. Genl King of the Massachusetts Militia as to the distribution and employment of said military force.

By order

GEN. P. P. PETERS

Asst. Adjt. Genl.

Copy

taste

S. SYLVESTER

Lieut. 45 Inf.

Capt. Wilson

Will report himself to Col. McCobb, tomorrow and obey his orders accordingly.

By command

SAMUEL SYLVESTER

Lieut. Act. Adjt 45 Inf.

Bath Oct. 1, 1814.

SUB. DIST. ORDER.

HEAD QUARTERS BATH Oct. 6, 1814

Major Joseph F. Wingate having been appointed Ast. Dy Qr M. Genl, & ordered to report himself to Colo. Denny McCobb, he is to be respected and obeyed accordinly.

The Commanding officers of the Garrisons and Posts at Wiscasset and its dependencies will make their requisitions on the Ast. Dy Qr Master Genl for they may be in want of from the Qr Masters Department.

The Asst. Dy Qr Master Genl will make return of all public property within this Dist. as soon as practicable. All persons in possession Qr Masters stores or of other articles belonging to that Department will make report of the same to the Asst. Dy Qr Master Gen without delay.

By Command of Colo. McCobb

Signed SAML SYLVESTER

Lieut. Act'g Adjt. 45 Infy

MAJ JOSEPH F. WINGATE

A Dy Qr M. Genl

BATH, Oct 10, 1814

Capt. John Wilson
Commang of
U S Garrison at Phipsburg
Sir :

In obedience to the foregoing order, I have to request that you will make return of all the public property therein alluded to at the post under your command with as little delay as practicable, and you will hereafter be pleased to make your requisitions for supplies from the Qr Masters Dept upon me. I have understand that a quantity of wood had been purchased recently at your post at the rate of three dollars per cord. You will permit me to observe that that it cannot be expected that this price will be allowed for wood at Phipsburg when at the same time they are bringing it from that place and disposing of it here at one half of the sum. I trust therefore you will not be surprised if an act of this kind is not allowed when presented. It is my duty to consult the public interest so long as I am acting as an agent of the Govt and I trust if any bargain has been made for wood at the price above named you will decline taking it, and advise me of the quantity required without delay.

Respy Yours,
JOS. F. WINGATE,
A. D. Qr M. Genl.

BATH, Oct. 10, 1814

Sir :

Enclosed is a letter for Capt. John Wilson commanding U. S. Garrison at the mouth of the Kennebec, which I have to request you will be so obliging as to forward to Capt. Wilson immediately on receipt of it and much oblige your obt. Servt. & friend

JOS. F. WINGATE
A. D. Q. M. Gen'l

Capt Russell,
Commang
Cox's Head.

The following are specimens of soldiers' receipts:—

TOPSHAM, January 12, 1815

Reed of John Wilson, Jr., my full pay for three months service in the drafted Militia in the service of the United States at the Garrison at Phipsburg clothing money excepted.

MATTHEW HINKLEY.

TOPSHAM, January 12, 1815

Reed of John Wilson Jr. pay in full for John Oliver and James Oliver for three months service in the drafted militia in the service of the United States at Phipsburg clothing excepted.

JAMES B. OLIVER.

A treaty of peace between this country and Great Britain was signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814, and the same was laid before Congress by President Madison, February 18, 1815. The following orders, also from the Wilson papers, are of interest in this connection:—

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

General Orders.

HEADQUARTERS, BOSTON, June 17, 1818.

On the 15 inst. the following Order of Council was passed viz:

In Council, June 15, 1815.

The Committee of Council to whom was referred a resolve of the Legislature of the 13 instant, requesting his Excellency, the Governor, with advice of Council, to discharge from further service such Volunteer Corps as have been raised for the defence of the Commonwealth, by virtue of a resolve passed the 12 day of February, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen, and to direct the return of all ordnance arms and munitions of war with which they have been furnished, to the Quarter Master General, respectfully report
“That his Excellency be advised to issue his order for the discharge

of all the Volunteer Corps raised for the defence of the Commonwealth, under the resolve of 12th February, 1814, and directing the return to the Quarter Master General of all ordnance, arms and munitions with which they have been supplied by the Commonwealth":—

By virtue, therefore of the powers vested in him, His Excellency the Commander in Chief hereby discharges from further service all the Volunteer Corps raised for the defence of the Commonwealth, under the resolve of the 12th of February, 1814; and directs all officers and others, who may have received from the Commonwealth ordnance, arms or munitions of war of any kind, for the use, or on account of any of these Corps, to cause the same to be forthwith returned to the Quarter Master General, at Boston, who is authorized to pay all reasonable charges for transporting the same. The generous, patriotic and voluntary tender of services for the defence of the Commonwealth, at the most threatening period of the late war, and the assiduity and zeal displayed by those Corps, in training themselves for usefulness on the field, without expense to the State, highly merit the public approbation and gratitude, and receive, as they claim, the cordial thanks of the Commander in Chief.

By His Excellency's Command

J. BROOKS, Adjutant General

DIVISION ORDERS 11 DIVISION

BATH, June 28, 1815

The Major General hands down the Genl Orders of the 17th inst. and directs that a copy of the same be furnished each field officer and each captain or commanding officer of a company within the 11th division the Brig. Genls have been respectively furnished with printed copies of these orders for the above purpose.

By Command of Major Genl King

JOS. F. WINGATE A. D C

BRIGADE ORDERS 1ST BRIGD 11TH DIVISION

BATH, July 6, 1815

In obedience to the foregoing Div. orders the Brigr. Gen'l herewith hands down the Genl orders of June 17th 1815 which will be duly respected.

By Command

Z. HYDE Brig's Major & Inspector

1st B. 11. Div.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS 3 REGT 1ST BRIG. 11. DIV.

TOPSHAM, Aug. 31, 1815

Agreeable to Divis. & Brige. Orders of which the above are copies herewith are handed down the Genl Orders of the 17th of June last of which all officers within said Regt will take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

By order of Lieut. Col. Merrill

CHARLES THOMPSON, Adjutant.

It should be added to this account of Capt. John Wilson's services in the war of 1812 that he was elected lieutenant colonel of the 3d Regiment, 1st Brigade, 11th Division, August 5, 1816. Brig. Gen. Wingate resigned in 1820, and at an election held in Brunswick, July 29, 1820, Lieut. Col. John Wilson was elected brigadier general to fill the vacancy. He resigned March 7, 1822.

**PELEG TALLMAN,
SAILOR OF THE REVOLUTION, MASTER MARINER AND
MEMBER OF CONGRESS.**

BY WALTER H. STURTEVANT.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, March 31, 1899.

PELEG TALLMAN was born at Tiverton, Rhode Island, July 24, 1764. He was of the fourth generation¹ in descent from Peter Tallman, who went from New York to Newport, Rhode Island, about the middle of the seventeenth century, and was general solicitor of the colony of Rhode Island, at Portsmouth, in 1661. Peter Tallman was the first of the name in America of whom the writer has any record, but may not have been the immigrant, who, tradition says, came from Holland. Tallman is said to be a Dutch name.

The parents of Peleg Tallman were Peleg and Sarah (Soule) Tallman. His grandparents were Benjamin and Elizabeth (Gorton) Tallman, of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, and Jonathan and Elizabeth (Gifford) Soule, of Dartmouth, Massachusetts. Beside those of the Tallman name, he numbered among his ancestors, George Soule, who came in the Mayflower, and that unique personage, Samuel Gorton, one of the founders of Warwick, Rhode Island, and included among other ancestral names those of Briggs, Collins, Durfee, Gifford, Hall, Perry, etc., well known in

¹ Peleg⁴, Peleg³, Benjamin², Benjamin¹, Peter¹.—Austin's Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island, and Arnold's Vital Record of Rhode Island.

Rhode Island and the adjacent county of Plymouth, in Massachusetts.

An unconfirmed tradition in the family has it that Peleg Tallman, senior, was a ship carpenter, and, during the Revolutionary War, was sent to "the lakes" (perhaps Lake Champlain), to assist in building vessels for the colonies. His wife having died shortly before that, the home was broken up, and Peleg, junior, was left, at the age of twelve years, to shift for himself.

The boy soon shipped on board a privateer, a career which he continued to follow during the war, with varying fortunes, as will be hereafter related in his own words, until captured and confined in prison, to be released only after peace was declared.

Up to the time he left home, he had probably had few, if any, educational advantages. In later years he often used to say that he had had but six weeks' schooling in his life — which perhaps was an understatement — and added, that anybody who had industry would get an education for himself, but to one without industry education would do no good. "Industry" was one of his pet words, apparently. His "six weeks of schooling" were probably those spent at a school in Boston, after the war. It is said that he learned to read and write while confined in prison. Quite likely he had received previous instruction during the time spent in the hospital. That he made good use of his opportunities is shown by his account book, started soon after his return to this country from captivity. The writing is plain and easily read. The first entry, under date of August 20, 1783, is "Paid

Wm Crosswill for schooling, 1: 4: 0." A similar entry occurs October 12th, of the same year, and though there are frequent charges for books and instruments, no further payments for tuition are entered.

An early entry notes that he was "at Kennebeck," in May, 1785. A common tradition in Woolwich, Maine, corroborated, in 1891, by his son, states that his friend, Dr. Joseph Gardner, sent him to Woolwich to have oversight of Dr. Gardner's business at the latter's farm at Tuessic Neck, and particularly to take charge of the potash works, which were carried on there for years.

Not long after that he resumed his nautical career, and was "at St. Eustatia" (probably St. Eustatius, West Indies) in May, 1786. From then until his retirement from the sea, in 1801, he was constantly in command of vessels, voyaging to various ports in the United States, West Indies, Europe, Cape Verde Islands, and to Madras, India, and the Island of Mauritius.

June 15, 1790, he was united in marriage, by Rev. Josiah Winship, to Eleanor Clarke. She was born in Boston, March 24, 1774, and was a daughter of John Clarke, a native of Boston, England, and his wife, Maria Theresa Larch¹, of Vienna, Austria. They came to Boston, Massachusetts, from London, in the year 1772. It is related that Captain Tallman first saw his future wife while she and her mother were visiting the hospital, in Boston, where he was recovering from the wound, received in action, which

¹ Or Larch, or Loersch.

deprived him of his arm. Ten children were the fruit of the union, viz. : —

James Clarke, born in Bath, Me., June 12, 1791 ; died June 13, 1804.

Scott Jenckes, born in Vassalborough, Me., Apr. 13, 1795 ; died in Bath, Nov. 8, 1853 ; married (1) Nov. 20, 1821, Salome Waterman, who died Sept. 22, 1822. (2) Apr. 13, 1824, Mary Ann Waterman. She died January, 1870.

Henry, born in Woolwich, Feb. 19, 1797 ; died there, Sept. 14, 1801.

Maria Theresa, born in Woolwich, Mar. 24, 1799 ; died in Boston, Mass., Dec. 21, 1881 ; married, Dec. 15, 1818, Thomas Tileston, who died Jan. 22, 1864.

Benjamin Franklin, born in Woolwich, Apr. 30, 1800 ; died in Richmond, Me., Dec. 30, 1893 ; married, Sept. 26, 1822, Alice McKown, who d. Feb. 26, 1861.

Eliza Sophia, born in Woolwich, Jan. 26, 1802 ; died in Philadelphia, Pa., Feb. 25, 1863 ; married, (1) Sept. 21, 1824, Horatio Smith, who died Oct. 21, 1833 ; (2) Sept. 8, 1835, William Pat-ten, who d. Aug. 15, 1871.

Caroline Ann, born in Woolwich, Jan. 26, 1802 ; died from burns, Oct. 19, 1810.

James Clarke, born in Woolwich, July 28, 1804 ; died in Boston, Oct. 21, 1853 ; married, Feb. 28, 1828, Jane R. Green, who died Nov. 22, 1863.

Henry, born in Bath, Aug. 2, 1806 ; died there, May 4, 1885 ; married, (1) 1833, Sarah Fitz, who died July 26, 1856 ; (2) Oct., 1857, Mrs. Elizabeth C. (Brown) Wilkinson.

Caroline Ann Appleton, born in Bath, Sept. 9, 1809 ; died in Boston, May 26, 1874 ; married, Oct., 1832, George H. Gardiner, who died March 31, 1864.

Scott, Maria, Benjamin, Eliza and Henry left descendants, now living.

Capt. Tallman and family lived, at different times, at Bath, Vassalborough and Woolwich, Maine. The

first piece of real estate that he owned was a farm at Vassalborough, on which he lived for a short time. He removed from there in April, or May, 1796, to the farm on Tuessic Neck, in Woolwich. This farm was large and included the land lying between the Kennebec River on the west, Nequasset Bay and Tuessic or Back River Creek on the east, and running to the "Gut," or Sasanoa River on the south. It was known, at different periods, as Tuessic, Baxter's, Gardner's, or Tallman's Neck. Record of a transfer of this farm is found as early as 1673.¹ Many years later, a part was held by Rev. John Gardner, of Stow, Mass., in the right of Mary his wife, daughter of Rev. Joseph Baxter. Her son, Dr. Joseph Gardner, of Boston, bought out the rights of the several heirs, improved the farm, and by will left it to his nephew, John Gardner. From him Captain Tallman purchased it in 1796.² The farm buildings stood near the "river road," on a sort of plateau, not quite a half mile above the present Sagadahoc ferry. The eastward travel from the ferry crosses the neck, and then the wide marsh by the "dike road," first laid out and built, as well as the creek bridge, by Tallman. In 1878 the farm, sold by his son Benjamin, then owner, passed from the family name. The buildings were soon after demolished.

Captain Tallman also acquired real estate in Bath. Here he had a home, which he occupied as the fancy seized him, alternating between it and the Woolwich farm. He had the unpleasant habit of announcing

¹ Maine Historical Society Collections, Documentary History, Second Series, Vol. IV, p. 336.

² Rev. H. O. Thayer, to whom the writer is indebted for generous assistance.

that the family would remove, at short notice, from one place to the other, according to where they happened to be living at the time. His wife submitted until patience ceased to be a virtue, and then declared she would not move again. After that they lived in Bath. The dwelling-house stood where the flag-pole is, on the land now used for the park in that city, the city having purchased the land for that purpose, after the death of Mrs. Tallman. The land was formerly owned by Mrs. Tallman's father, John Clarke, from whose son Captain Tallman bought it. The house, a large three-story building, was removed to the east side of Front street, near Oak street, and is now used for stores and tenements.

From the time he began his business career, after his short term at school, Captain Tallman appears to have prospered in his undertakings. He acquired property in shipping, real estate and otherwise, until he remarked to a friend that he had all the property he wanted, a statement the friend afterward said he never heard from any other man. During the latter part of his life Captain Tallman spent a large part of his time in Boston, attending to his business affairs in that city and making frequent trips to Rhode Island and other places where his various investments were located.

Immediately after retiring from the sea, in May, 1801, he entered political life and was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, from Woolwich in 1801, 1802, 1803 and 1804, and from Bath in 1806 and 1807. He was a member of the twelfth

Congress, from the Lincoln District, 1811–1813, having been elected in 1811, and served in the Senate of Maine in 1822 and 1823.¹ As a Senator, in the first session of the Second Legislature of Maine, he was chairman of several important committees. Of his other legislative and congressional service but few records have been obtainable, but the story is told that when in the legislature, one season, his energy and fiery push drove business along and secured a short session.

In common with the majority in New England, in 1812, he was opposed to a declaration of war, as the following letter will show:—

Washington, June 6, 1812.

Hon. W King,

D^r Sir:

Congress has been three days with closed doors. The business which occupied the house was finished last evening. You know I cannot communicate its nature, but you will naturally conjecture, knowing nearly what to expect. The house runs 79 to 49. I am a minority man.

The Senate have closed doors this day, & no doubt is entertained but they will concur with the house.

You well know what my fears have always been, a very few days will show you with what degree of propriety I entertained them. What will this change bring us to!

Respectfully

Your Ob^t Serv^t

Peleg Tallman.

War was declared ten days later. Nevertheless, his name appears, for \$25,000, among those who subscribed toward the ten million dollars war loan, accepted by the government May 2, 1814,² a loan

¹ Journal of the Senate of Maine.

² "Incidents in the Life of Jacob Barker," p. 54.

strongly opposed by those who desired to cripple the administration.

Williamson's History of Maine states that, in September, and later, in the year 1814, the British having control of the territory east of the Penobscot, "all intercourse between the eastern and western sides" of that river "was studiously prevented, excepting what was indispensable to the local condition of the bordering inhabitants. . . . Mr. Hook, the collector, opened a custom-house office at Hampden, for the entries and clearances of all neutral vessels; and the Swedish being of that character, was entitled to the privilege, and Peleg Tallman, of Bath, was accredited as Swedish Consul." ¹

During the interesting period of his history, embracing his political career and mature and vigorous manhood, but little is found in the before-mentioned account book to throw any light on the part he took in the events of that time. From 1804 to 1816 the account contains no particulars, his expenses having been estimated in a lump sum, for each year, evidently done at the time he resumed entering the items of expense. Probably his many business affairs and other duties prevented the attention to details that was given before and after the dates mentioned. Sundry entries for rum for "the Malitia Company of Woolwich the 4th of July Training," and for various individuals, at the time he was representing his town at the General Court, may, perhaps, be considered as expenses "for campaign purposes." No other entry pertaining to

¹ Vol. II, pp. 653, 654.

his legislative career is discovered than the purchase of a copy of the Laws of Massachusetts, in May, 1801. It is told that when he was a candidate for Congress, he gave a big dinner, inviting the whole town, setting out roast pig and other attractions. He was then a resident of Bath. In 1831 Bath celebrated Independence Day in an elaborate manner. A prominent feature of the festivities was a dinner served to a large company in "a grove of beautiful oaks, near the mansion house of Hon. Peleg Tallman," who was president of the day. A number of the "survivors of the days of '76" were present. Many toasts were drank, among them one to "Peleg Tallman — our generous host ; one of the few who can now say, I have bled for my country."¹

In personal appearance Peleg Tallman measured about six feet in height, was strongly built and very powerful, stout, but not corpulent, and weighed, when in his prime, two hundred and six pounds. His eyes were light blue, or gray, and his hair, in later life, was light and thin. No portrait of him exists. It was one of his boasts that he "never had his picture taken and never went to night meetings." He was not a man of piety, though helping to sustain the churches in Woolwich and Bath. He was instrumental in obtaining the bell for the old "North Meeting-house," in Bath, and his name is on the subscription list for a generous amount toward its purchase.

In his family he was not an ideal man. He was naturally proud, and his early education — or lack of

¹ Maine Enquirer, July 6, 1831.

it, rather — tended to make him rough. He was not given to making any display of his affections, but was reserved in that respect. Stories are told of his arbitrary ways and tyrannical methods, in part perhaps the result of early training in the rough schools of privateers' forecastles and British prisons, and from habits of command acquired during the years he was master of vessels.

He was sometimes called a "hard man," a term not always accurately applied, as the following incidents will testify: — A family lived in one of his houses — a small one — in Bath, and had neglected to pay any rent for a considerable time. At length Captain Tallman sent one of his sons to turn the family out. The son, upon investigation, found them very poor, unable to pay the rent, and destitute, and not having the heart to evict them, reported the circumstances to his father, who pulled a sum of money from his pocket, handed it to the son, and said, "Here! give them that and tell them to stay there as long as they want to." At another time, a man owed Captain Tallman a sum of money, but being poor, could not pay. Finally Captain Tallman set him at work straightening nails that had been taken from some old building, at which occupation the man was kept employed a number of days. When the job was completed, Captain Tallman, finding the man was willing to work, and was remiss in discharging his debt only because he had no money, not only paid him for his work straightening the nails, but canceled the debt.

Doubtless other instances of a similar nature might be related. His account book contains frequent entries of sums of money given away.

He was full of anecdotes and had a story for every occasion. One of the few remembered by his grandchildren was of "a man who never thought but once a week, and then he thought he wouldn't go to meetin'" — not an unnatural conclusion, under the circumstances.

Captain Tallman is said to have been the possessor of the first chaise and umbrella owned in Bath. He was a subscriber for several of the leading newspapers of his day, and accumulated a library of several hundred volumes, which, as shown by a catalogue now in existence, was composed of standard works of the first class.

Until within a few months of the end of his life, Captain Tallman's writing shows but few indications of the encroaching years. The last entry in his cash account was made January 20, 1841. He died March 8, 1841, at the age of nearly seventy-seven years. He was buried at Bath, from whence his remains were removed to Forest Hills cemetery, near Boston, where they now repose.

Interesting reminiscences of "Life on the Tallman Farm, Woolwich," are related in a manuscript, entitled "Recollections of Seventy Years," by Mrs. Eliza Sophia Hatch, late of Perkins, Maine, a grand-niece of Captain Tallman, who passed a portion of her childhood in his family. The following extracts are from her narrative :

The house was large and two-story, facing the south, with a garden in front surrounded by a high board fence painted yellow. Large English cherry trees formed a row along the garden fence. The garden itself was quite a field; had currant bushes on two sides, of the white and red varieties, an asparagus bed . . . and there were choice kinds of apples. The orchards were four in number;¹ one was of greenings, another of greenings and pippins . . . The apples were kept in boxes in the apple cellar, on one side of a ledge, and often there were a hundred bushels to sell in the spring, usually bringing a dollar a bushel.

The first out-building was the work house, then the carriage house, the meat house, and the corn house, running south, forming three sides of a hollow square with the house and garden fence. Uncle Peleg built a schoolhouse at the northwest of the dwelling house, and hired a teacher for his children, after his daughter Caroline was burnt to death in a school building at Bath. In after years another story was added and a dwelling house was made of it.²

The kitchen was a large room, and in winter I always dreaded making up the fire, a ceremony which always took place before supper. First Old Russell would walk in the backlog, a huge section of a tree, which lasted the twenty-four hours. The fire was taken apart, filling the room with smoke; the back log was laid on the great andirons, behind, and the forestick put in front, and a roaring fire made up which kept till the next night.

They were living on the farm when uncle was president of the Bath bank³, and I remember seeing him seated at a table covered with sheets of bank notes, putting his signature on them. Some of the family assisted him in cutting the bills apart . . . During the war of 1812, there were some fears of the English coming up the river to Bath, so the money was taken from the bank and put up in nail kegs, which were sent over to Woolwich for safe keeping.⁴

¹ The trees were brought from Rhode Island and set out about the year 1800.

² This building in later days was called "The Academy."

³ The Lincoln Bank of Bath, Maine, incorporated June 16, 1813. William King was the first president, followed, in 1815, by Samuel Davis. Peleg Tallman was president from sometime previous to 1820 to 1828, when he was succeeded by Jonathan Hyde. Massachusetts and Maine Registers.

⁴ In September, 1814, (during the war of 1812,) after the British had captured Castine, Hampden and Bangor, and gained control of the territory east of the

A brief outline of his career in the Revolution and subsequently, as given by him in the last year of his life in a letter to an old shipmate, is here printed.¹

Bath, November 4, 1840,

———, Esquire,

My dear and much respected sir :

Your favor of the 21st ult. has been received with great satisfaction, and is now before me.

In reply to your inquiries : when I went on deck from the gun room, by the permission of Mr. Starr, he immediately put me to the two after guns on the gun deck. They were then commanded by Mr. Adams, the purser, who was wounded early in the action ; how bad, I don't recollect, but I saw the blood flow freely from him, and he was immediately relieved and went below, after which I saw him on deck no more during the action. Mr. Starr then, after the retiring of Mr. Adams, put me as captain of the gun. This circumstance of being appointed captain after Mr. Adams, I should have noticed before, but it did not occur to me. I continued at the gun, and I believe she^e was as well fought as any in the ship during the action, till the very last. Mr. Starr, who frequently was near us, appeared to be well satisfied with our management. . . .

The first time I went to sea I sailed out of your port, or city, in the sloop Beaver, privateer, commanded by Captain Havens, which vessel I think you must have known. I was on board of her about four months. We cruised in the Sound, off Long Island, both sides, and occasionally off New York, and made many captures

Penobscot, it was feared the enemy designed to extend his conquests to the banks of the Kennebec. . . . The specie was removed from the vaults of the Bath and Wiscasset banks.

Williamson's History of Maine, Vol. II, p. 649.

At that time Captain Tallman was probably " First Director " of the bank. Had the British appeared, the farmhouse across the river would hardly have been suspected as the hiding place for the treasure. These kegs set about in the wood-house and were supposed to contain nails.

¹ This letter was introduced into the *Recollections of the Early Life of an Aged Sailor*, which appeared in the *People's Advocate*, a newspaper published in New London, Connecticut. This sketch included a valuable account of the engagement between the American frigate Trumbull and the British letter of marque Watt, and of officers and men who suffered in the action ; all of which must be omitted.

of moderate value. I next went in the privateer *Rover*, Captain Wm. Dennis; we were taken by the *Reasonable*, 64.¹ I was retained in the prize and carried to Halifax. The prize master, who was an under lieutenant in the British navy, took me on board the man-of-war with him. After some months he was turned over on board a frigate — went to Penobscot and took me with him, where, after some time, I found means to leave,² and with considerable labor and fatigue I made my way to Boston and Rhode Island. The next April I went on board the *Rattle Snake*, we have spoken of, commanded by Capt. Freeborn. I having by this time had some experience on board of armed vessels, being constantly on board of them, of different sorts, gave me a high standing with almost a totally green crew on board the *Rattle Snake*. This very probably induced Capt. F. to give me a situation much like a midshipman in a public vessel, for which I was to have a deserving share. We sailed from Newport, I think, in April; and the third day out were run ashore at Barnegat by two British men-of-war, and having taken nothing, but got burnt, my half share came to but little. I jumped overboard and swam to the shore, about a mile, with three others, one of whom, the gunner, did not reach the shore. But before the English could get the crew out she beat over the bar and drove up to the shore head foremost — her jibboom over the beach, so that they all got out except one. The British then burned her, and the crew went different ways — some to Philadelphia, some to New London. I took the road to New London and went on board the *Trumbull*. As you know concerning my fate in her I need say nothing.³ I was hauled up, wounded, a long time in Boston, but as I got repaired so that I could carry easy sail I went to sea again

¹ Without doubt in the ill-fated *Bagaduce* expedition, August 14, 1779. The *Rover*, a privateer sloop of ten guns, was one of the American fleet, and the *Reasonable*, 64, was one of the British men-of-war that routed the Americans. The *Rover* was captured. Williamson's *History of Maine*, Vol. II, p. 469, *et seq.*

² It is related that he was sent ashore with a party to cut hay for the animals on board, and took the opportunity to make his escape.

³ It is regretted that he omitted details of what befell him in that hotly contested action, by which he was taken out of the fight by a shot that cost him his left arm.

The ball supposed to have been a grape shot from the enemy, shattered the shoulder-blade, passed through the upper part of his body, and destroyed the shoulder-joint, necessitating amputation at the shoulder.

in a privateer brig of sixteen guns. After being at sea three months without any success, we were taken by a frigate and carried into St. Johns, Newfoundland, and put on board a prison ship. At length, we were sent from thence to Boston. I then went on board another privateer of twenty guns, Capt. Rathbone, then late of the Navy. After being at sea between three and four months without any success, we were taken by the frigate *Recovery*, and carried into Kingsale, Ireland, and hove into a loathsome prison, where the survivors of us remained thirteen or fourteen months. About half our number died with the small pox and other disorders. At length we were sent over to England and put into *Fortune* prison. We were there about thirteen months, and until the peace in 1783, in April.¹ The prison was then cleared of its contents, and we were sent over to Havre, in France, and there landed naked as we were. We had no means of getting to America from there. I, with six others, walked through France, down to Nantz — I believe about four hundred miles. We there got a passage on board a ship bound to Philadelphia, and there — pray, sir, look at my condition — I was landed in the rags I stood in, without friends, and only one arm, and knew not where to get a meal of victuals. My friends and relations were all dead or out of my reach. I, however, made the best of my way to Boston, and called on my old friend, Dr. Gardiner. After a short time he took me by the hand — sent me to a mathematical school some months — but my wishes were for the sea. He after a time built a brig² and put me in master, with a nurse, as I was young and without much experience. I commanded her about three years, and until the death of the Doctor. Then I was enabled to buy one-half of her, which continued me in command. At length I sold out in '91. I had got in command of the largest Bengal ship out of Boston. I was in her and various other employments till '99. In October Mr. Secretary Stoddard sent me a com-

¹ The periods of service on board the several vessels, and of his confinement in prisons, as stated in his letter, would, if added together, extend beyond the time of his release. His letter, written fifty-seven years, and more, after the events transpired, doubtless contains a few inaccuracies.

² Built at Woolwich, or Bath, according to statements of Captain Tallman's son and others, though no vessel of corresponding class and conditions is mentioned in a printed list of vessels built in the District at that time.

mission as Lieutenant in the Navy,¹ but I then commanded a fine letter of marque ship of twenty guns, the John Adams, bound to Liverpool. I considered this the best business of the two, and therefore did not accept but returned the commission. I took a few trips in this ship and then left her and the seas altogether, since which I have been engaged in various mercantile pursuits, and have been twelve years in various Legislatures. In 1822, being in the Senate of this State, I found attending Legislatures materially interfering with my business, which had become considerable. I retired from public life with a determination never to engage in it again. I have met with various success in business — sometimes lost and sometimes made.

I have written this, to you, uninteresting sketch of myself, in detail, for which I pray your excuse, that you may see how a poor invalid of the Revolution, with one arm, might with hard labor and watching make his way through the world among two-armed people. You may wonder then why I apply for augmentation of my pension?² Why, sir, because I think I deserve it, and am ashamed to receive from the office the small pittance which they vouchsafe to give me, and my friends are continually pressing me so to do.

I am, with the most friendly regard,

Your obedient servant,

Peleg Tallman.

Navy Dept 17th June 1799

¹
Capt. Peleg Tallman

Bath, Kennebeck

Sir,

The President having app^d you a Lieut^t in the Navy, I enclose your Commission.

You will be pleased to take the enclosed oath and return it to this office; & repair immediately to Boston, where you will make application to Capt Talbot to know whether your services are required on board the Frigate Constitution under his command, & govern yourself accordingly.

Your Pay and Emoluments will commence from the date of your letter of acceptance.

I have the honor to be,

Sir

Y^r obd Serv^t

Ben Stoddert

² He was pensioned in March, 1786, at the rate of \$51 per year. In 1816 this was increased to \$81.60, which was continued until his death, and afterward granted to his widow. After his pension was increased he expended it in the purchase of silverware for the table and sideboard. The increase to which he refers in the above letter, was not granted, evidently.

The writer of the newspaper sketch completes it with these remarks: —

He spent much of the time he was confined in the hospital and in prisons in acquiring that education which insured his prosperity in after life, and made use of his misfortunes in early life to secure the means of enjoyment in old age.

The letter, of three closely written pages, is believed to be in his own hand, and signed by himself in the strong, open handwriting of the old school. To this signature there is no trembling, no uncertainty or unsteadiness — it is characteristic of the man.

Allow me to call the attention of our young men to the life of Peleg Tallman. Let them view him, landed friendless and penniless upon the wharves of Philadelphia, brave his course through difficulties and suffering, to a very high standing among the merchant princes of the East in affluence — to the legislatures of the States of Massachusetts and Maine, then taking his place among the honorable men of the nation in the hall of the representatives of the people of the Union, and closing his days with the reputation of being “a kind friend and father — an example of industry, prudence and perseverance.”

FIELD DAY EXCURSION.

THE Annual Field Day Excursion was taken September 6, 1899, by railroad to Pine Point, thence by carriages to the site of the ancient ferry at the mouth of Scarborough River, thence to Blue Point Hill, where a fine view was had of the surrounding country, from the Saco River to Richmond's Island. The route was then taken through Dunstan's Corner, passing the homesteads of Richard King, Robert Southgate and others; thence by the turnpike over Oak

Hill to Prout's Neck, where a dinner was enjoyed at the Checkley House.

After dinner a meeting was held on the portico of the hotel, and Hon. George F. Talbot took the chair, and introduced Hon. Augustus F. Moulton, who read a brief and instructive paper on the early history of Scarboro, calling especial attention to the points of historic interest visited in the drive from Pine Point.

At the close of Mr. Moulton's paper remarks were made by the chairman and others, and a vote of thanks was tendered to Mr. Moulton for his paper, and a copy requested for the Archives of the Society. The thanks of all present were passed to Mr. Moulton for his guidance of the party on their historic jaunt.

The following ladies and gentlemen, members of the Maine Historical Society, and guests, were present: —

Rev. Dr. H. S. Burrage and wife, James G. Garland and wife, John S. Locke and wife, Dr. Dana W. Fellows and wife, Hon. A. F. Moulton, Mrs. Mary E. Baxter, Miss Sarah C. Moulton, Miss Stockbridge, Hon. George F. Talbot, Rev. Edward G. Porter, Col. Robert G. Carter, Dr. A. K. P. Meserve, Hon. Marquis F. King, George A. Norwood, Marshall Pierce, Samuel T. Dole, John W. Penney, George W. Hammond, Andrew Hawes, George F. Emery, George A. Emery, Frank C. Deering, Isaiah P. Milliken, James M. Larrabee, Leonard B. Chapman, Ira S. Locke, Winslow Homer, Hubbard W. Bryant.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

In accordance with a vote of the Society at the annual meeting in Brunswick, the publication of papers read before the Society will be discontinued for the present, and, commencing with the January number of the Quarterly, the publication of Miss Mary Frances Farnham's "Documents Relating to the Territorial History of Maine" will be commenced. The compilation of this important work was made by Miss Farnham under the direction of Prof. A. B. Hart, of Harvard University, and its publication cannot fail to be a matter of interest and value to the members of the Society. The number of volumes required for the completion of the work cannot as yet be estimated. Each volume, it is expected, will contain four hundred and forty-eight pages. The work will be issued in quarterly parts, but any member of the Society, who prefers to receive in a bound volume the four numbers issued each year, can make arrangements for the same with the publishers, The Thurston Print, Portland, Maine. This, of course, should be done at once.

HENRY S. BURRAGE,

HENRY O. THAYER,

HUBBARD W. BRYANT,

Publishing Committee.

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